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*"No man, who has tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not content with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.*

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- ART. I.—1. *Genealogical account of the Kulins, by Dhruvánanda Misra, Sanscrit, unpublished.*  
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HEREDITARY distinctions of tribes and classes appear to have prevailed in India from very remote times. The Hindus, with their usual fondness for all Brahminical ordinances, pretend that their four-fold division of castes was coëval with the creation. The pretension, ridiculous and futile as it is, proves, however, the antiquity of the institution; and as the classification corresponds to a considerable extent with the Egyptian mode of distributing offices and occupations, it is probable that an early intercourse existed between these two nations, especially since voyages by sea were not of yore forbidden to the Hindus. There is no extravagance in the supposition, that the route which the *Berenice*, the *Sesostris*, the *Cleopatra*, the *Victoria*, the *Aibar*, &c., are now taking every month with the overland mails from and to Bombay, had, centuries past, been marked by Hindu vessels trading on the Red Sea, and that these merchantmen had imported or exported many of the existing laws of castes and tribes.

Among the Hindus, as among the Egyptians, the priests occupied the *first* rank in society, and naturally commanded the veneration due to the guardians of religion and learning. The warriors and the merchants, who were entrusted with the preservation of the country and the supply of the comforts and necessities of life, enjoyed the *second* and *third* places in the commonwealth, while the Sudras, or *slaves*, destined for the

service of the others, filled the *fourth* and *last* grade. The first three orders were distinguished by the appellation of the *twice-born*, and were invested with the sacred cord as the badge of their *regeneration*; the last were doomed to occupy the same position in India that was allotted to the *slaves* in the Grecian republics.

Disparities of rank and station are inseparable from human society, and the Hindu legislators, in causing this quadruple division, acted upon the principle that was observed by statesmen all over the world. The satraps of the Magian and Sabian countries, the free-born citizens of the Grecian states, the priests and warriors of Egypt, the patricians and plebeians of Rome, and the peers, grandees, seigniors, amceers, &c., in other quarters, are evidences of conventional distinctions maintained by all nations. Some have everywhere endeavoured to rise above others. Even the most democratical states have not been free from aristocratic distinctions and influences. The vast majority of the human species has always submitted to the authority of the few that have exalted themselves above the common level; and *these* have invariably improved every opportunity of self-aggrandisement. It was not Nimrod alone, though he was the first on record, that began to be *mighty on the earth*. Many have since followed the "mighty hunter's" example by struggling for superiority over their brethren.

These distinctions have, however, proved in India sad engines of corruption and human degradation. They have been considered, not as mere civil enactments intended for the well-being of society, and so capable of alteration and improvement, according to the mutations of times and circumstances, but as an integral portion of the Brahminical theology itself, alleged to have been ordained by God from the very beginning of the world, and therefore superior to modification and change. The different tribes are religiously enjoined to keep separate from one another, and to abstain on peril of their souls from intruding into each other's professions. In their anxiety to place their own dignity upon the firmest footing, the Hindu legislators did not stop to consider or deplore the magnitude of the evils they were preparing for their country, or the hardness of the yoke they were imposing on millions of their species. The noblest families might deteriorate, and the meanest tribe might ameliorate itself, in process of time. Hereditary priests, warriors, mechanics and menial labourers might, by the vicissitudes of life, be all incapacitated in the course of a few centuries for their respective occupations, and yet be adapted for other duties; and if the country could not reap

dom, scarcely fails to associate itself with some evil consequences or other. It is truly amiable in a prince to reduce himself in society to the level of his subjects, and engage himself actively in regulating conventional rules and laws. A danger, however, there is, lest by too familiar and close contact with those whom he ought to command and protect, and by too busily officiating in matters on which he had better be indifferent, he may contract invidious prejudices and form partialities, calculated rather to expose the infirmities of the man than exhibit the majesty of the sovereign. Notwithstanding his other virtues, he betrayed himself occasionally into levities and partizanships unworthy of a crowned head. The petty squabbles into which he was involuntarily led with certain of his own subjects, and the unworthy arts he employed to depress the *Banker* caste, have entailed everlasting infamy upon his name. The tribe of which many of the *Seals*, *Mullicks*, *Dhurs*, *Degs*, *Dutts*, *Addys*, &c., of the present day are members, and which appears to have sprung in a pure or mixed way from the last of the three *twice-born* orders of ancient institution, owes its existing degradation in Hindu society to the ignoble vengeance of Bullal. This may probably be one reason for which the *Bankers* in a body subsequently embraced the doctrines inculcated by *Chaitanya*, and acknowledged the spiritual pupillage of the *Goshayers* as the lineal descendants of *Nityananda*. The system introduced by *Chaitanya* and the sectaries to which it gave birth, together with the lives and characters of its founders, would present very interesting subjects of speculation to Christian observers in the East.

Bullal Sen was not a little distressed to witness the jealousies and feuds, which distracted and disgraced the sacerdotal orders in his dominions. The descendants of the five colonists from Kanouj, many of whom had sadly degenerated from their fathers, boasted of their superior attraction, and behaved themselves with great haughtiness to the *Saptasati*,\* or old Bengalee Brahmins, despising them as a vulgar and degraded race, and insinuating suspicions on the purity of their origin. To restrain the vain arrogance of the one and to raise the deserving members of the other, were necessary to secure peace and encourage virtue. To bring on a general reconciliation between parties so prejudiced against one another, was altogether hopeless. For extraordinary evils, extraordinary and almost ano-

\* The old Brahmins of Bengal were not acknowledged to be pure descendants of the sacerdotal caste. They were reckoned into seven hundred families, and were therefore called the *Saptasati*.



The most timid or untractable had probably preferred a wild independence in the thickets of hills and mountain-fastnesses to the yoke of more powerful intruders, or to incorporation with foreigners whom they could not expel. In the then imperfect state of navigation, the foreign colonists had perhaps poured in by land from the teeming plains of Hindustan Proper. From them Bengal must have derived its Hinduism and the Sanserit literature. The present language is, in all likelihood, a commixture of the original wild dialect with the polished vocabulary of the *Vedas* and *Purans*. Indeed this province appears, on the emigration of new colonists, to have undergone similar mutations in men and language with its insular mistress of the west, where the Saxons and Normans amalgamated with the Aboriginal savages, though they were the means of driving many a wild free-spirited horde into inaccessible mountains and forests.

But whatever be the probable truth of these suppositions, it is almost undoubted that Bengal did not rise into importance so early as the other divisions of Hindustan.\* Whether the Brahminical theology was in any shape known and acknowledged from the very commencement of its population or not, certain it is that the study of Brahminical learning was not long carried on here with any celebrity or success. The Nuddea school, now so famous for its cultivation of the *Nyaya*, or Logic, is confessedly of modern institution. What the state of learning, philosophy, and theology, was, in this province, during or previous to its connection with the *Magadha* empire, does not clearly appear. The contempt with which it is still spoken of in the other divisions of India, and the absence of any traditionary or monumental proofs of its pristine glory, is a presumptive evidence of its primitive insignificance. Under the Buddhist family of the Pals, Brahminism must naturally have been on the wane, and little as the Shasters had before been studied, they must have been less so at this period. This is evident from the miserable condition to which the priests had been reduced under the Hindu kings that succeeded the Buddhists. In the reign of Adisur, the founder of the Sen or the medical dynasty, the ranks of Brahminism had not only been sadly desolated, probably owing to the persecution of his Buddhist predecessors, but the few that had escaped this catastrophe were found deplorably ignorant in their sacerdotal duties. Brahminism, it must be remembered, requires its

\* The long list of Bengal kings contained in the *Ayeen Acbery* cannot be entirely correct. How could so many names be traditionally remembered!—or if the compiler made use of any documentary guides, where are they now?

religious ordinances to be celebrated in Sanscrit, the pretended language of the gods, not unlike Romanism which enjoins its services to be performed in Latin, the ecclesiastical language of the western fathers. In Adisur's reign, however, scarcely one Brahmin could read or understand the common services of their religion—to say nothing of the more solemn rites and ceremonies of the Vedas. Of *Sagnic* Brahmins, Bengal was wholly destitute. These priests were held in the highest veneration, because of their preserving, by daily offerings of fuel and clarified butter, the sacrificial fire lighted by their parents on the day of their nativity, and kept unextinguished for use in their funeral solemnities. Adisur was led to entertain a desire of celebrating a sacrificial feast, in order to avert the threatened consequences of a long and oppressive drought. *This* none but *Sagnic* Brahmins knew how to perform. The pious king felt not a little humbled to find that such characters were not procurable in his own dominions. In order to supply the deficiency, his eyes were naturally turned towards Upper India, the great theatre sanctified by the legendary acts of Krishna, and Rama,—where Vyas and Valmiki had tuned their poetic lyres—and which bore the same relation in point of learning and theological reputation to Bengal, that the continent did to England at and before the time of the Norman conquest. The king of Kanouj, the celebrated capital of Hindustan of classical fame, was applied to for a supply of *Sagnic* priests, who might perform the contemplated sacrifice, and by reviving the study of Sanscrit, restore the knowledge of Hinduism among their unlettered brethren of Bengal.

When the ambassadors from the court of Gour presented themselves before the king of Kanouj, five *Sagnic* Brahmins happened to be in attendance, who were induced, by the hope of improving their fortunes, to emigrate into Bengal. They were priests of a superior order, tracing their parentage to *Rshis*, of great reputation, and esteemed as members of the *Sândilya*, *Kashyapa*, *Bharadwaj*, *Sârarna* and *Bâtsya* Gotras or tribes. The utmost respect and attention were paid to them on their arrival at Gour with their families, servants, and followers. According to the king's wishes, they commenced without delay the solemn ceremony for which they had been invited. *Ved-garva*, *Sriharsa*, and *Chhander* chanted the *Rich*, *Yajus*, and *Saman* Vedas, while *Daksha* and *Narayan* officiated at the sacrifice. The innumerable princes and nobles that had been invited to witness the ceremony and partake of the banquet, wondered at the learning and ritual tactics of these Brahmins, whose reputation was hereby still more widely circulated.

They were regarded both for their ritualistic experience and their reputed sanctity, as the superiors of the priestly classes, and even the servile adventurers who had followed their fortunes were honoured, as the leaders of the *Sudra* caste. But the new comers did not enjoy these favours with the modesty and magnanimity which became their distinguished rank and dignity. They affected to treat the Aboriginal or old Bengalee Brahmins with scorn and contumely. Instead of labouring to raise the indigenous priests by amalgamating with them, and of thus forming an united and compact body of native hierarchy, they continued as a separate and isolated order, and sowed the seeds of much heart-burning and jealousy.

The descendants of the five priestly emigrants from Kanouj had multiplied rapidly and overrun the whole country, when Bullal Sen, one of the successors of Adisur, ascended the Bengal throne. This prince was held in such high estimation all over Bengal, that the most extravagant fancies have been indulged, and the wildest tales invented, in order to connect his memory with the marvellous and the sublime. Poets have invested him with the dignity of a divine original, and described his infantile precocity in the most glowing colours. He has been represented as the son of the *fluvial* god Brahmputra, who had deceived his mother by assuming the form of her own husband. His nativity is said to have taken place in the solitude of a thick forest, where his mother had been banished a few months before her parturition through the jealousy and treachery of his father's two other wives. In these sylvan shades, and under the especial protection of Heaven, he passed his infantile days, undisturbed by the noise and distractions of towns and cities, and uncontaminated by the pleasures and irregularities of riotous society. His divine parent, "uxorius amnis," as Horace would perhaps call him, instructed him in the different branches of a Hindu's education, and in the tactics of war and diplomatic policy. While yet a boy, he is said to have exhibited extraordinary proofs of heroism and strength. He had discomfited, unassisted and alone, a whole host of disciplined troops, commanded by princes and veteran captains, and armed with all the weapons of native warfare.

As a king, Bullal appears to have been the friend and father of his people. The tranquillity which prevailed in his reign, enabled him to cultivate the arts of peace, and to reform the social institutions of his country. His affability and condescension were unexampled. But too much familiarity in such characters, unless balanced by more than ordinary wis-

dom, scarcely fails to associate itself with some evil consequences or other. It is truly amiable in a prince to reduce himself in society to the level of his subjects, and engage himself actively in regulating conventional rules and laws. A danger, however, there is, lest by too familiar and close contact with those whom he ought to command and protect, and by too busily officiating in matters on which he had better be indifferent, he may contract invidious prejudices and form partialities, calculated rather to expose the infirmities of the man than exhibit the majesty of the sovereign. Notwithstanding his other virtues, he betrayed himself occasionally into levities and partizanships unworthy of a crowned head. The petty squabbles into which he was involuntarily led with certain of his own subjects, and the unworthy arts he employed to depress the *Banker* caste, have entailed everlasting infamy upon his name. The tribe of which many of the *Seals*, *Mullicks*, *Dhurs*, *Deys*, *Dutts*, *Addys*, &c., of the present day are members, and which appears to have sprung in a pure or mixed way from the last of the three *twice-born* orders of ancient institution, owes its existing degradation in Hindu society to the ignoble vengeance of Bullal. This may probably be one reason for which the *Bankers* in a body subsequently embraced the doctrines inculcated by *Chaitanya*, and acknowledged the spiritual pupillage of the *Goshayees* as the lineal descendants of *Nityananda*. The system introduced by *Chaitanya* and the sectaries to which it gave birth, together with the lives and characters of its founders, would present very interesting subjects of speculation to Christian observers in the East.

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malbus remedies were necessary. The king accordingly formed the resolution of depressing the idle boasters of their genealogy by exalting the meritorious and the virtuous of their own body. There are always two ways of degrading men. They may either be actually reduced to a lower position and deprived of honours and privileges already in their possession; or others whom they have hitherto considered their peers may be exalted above their ranks, and then the upward motion of those that are promoted, must produce in those that are superseded an acute sense of an apparent motion downwards. The first way of degrading is ever an ungracious punishment, which worthlessness and mere negative vices do not always deserve;—the second is in truth nothing more than the reward of merit, though in its consequences it answers all the ends of moral discipline and government. Vain and unworthy boasters priding themselves on their *Gotras* must, when invidiously overlooked in a general distribution of favours, feel with all the keenness of a real humiliation, a kind of ignominious descent, on beholding their worthier compeers actually ascending above their level. The politic king of Bengal chose this latter mode of demeaning some by ennobling others. He knew that when the virtuous among the descendants of the Kanouj Brahmins were exalted, the vicious who could boast of nothing but their pedigree, would be necessarily depressed; while as the moral effect of this discrimination all would be stimulated to good and great efforts by the king's readiness to reward virtue.

Accordingly he selected, from among the descendants of the sacerdotal colonists, those who had distinguished themselves by learning and good manners, and conferred upon them the honourable appellation of *Kulins*. The rule by which, according to tradition, he made this selection, is like all other oriental maxims more charming to the ear, as recited by Ghataks, than striking to the eye as realized in life. Without derogating from the capacities of human nature, we must frankly declare that we do not believe a single Brahmin, thus exalted by Bullal, lived up to the pretended standard of Kulinism. *Good manners, humility, learning, reputation, pilgrimages, devotion, means of subsistence, self-mortification, and charity* are the nine-fold qualifications of a Kulin. We should certainly congratulate human nature if the good king could conscientiously predicate as much for any of his favoured Brahmins.

The Kulins thus created were like privileged families elsewhere of diverse orders and transmissible in hereditary succession. The institution was accordingly liable to all the abuses to which hereditary honours are perhaps always subject. That

these have their uses also, we do not deny. Respectable parentage is calculated to secure good manners, and to operate as an incentive to the practice of virtue. A nobleman naturally feels desirous of maintaining the dignity conventionally attached to his title, and of transmitting his esentecheon unsullied to his posterity. In the distinction to which he is exalted, society possesses a guarantee for his preservation of moral propriety and external decency. The forfeiture of his honour would render his name execrable, not only to the present generation, but to all his posterity for ages to come; and this fear must restrain him from violence and excess. And there is something enrapturing to the imagination in the thought of a noble family that has kept up its brilliancy for ages immemorial, and has passed unscathed the fiery trials of life, and escaped the desolating ravages of time. "It is a reverend thing," says the master philosopher of modern times, "to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time."\* We are no Vandals, and can admire the monuments and relics of antiquity as in inanimate productions of nature, art, and genius, so also in living families of title and distinction. When we meet with the sons of Benjamin and Judah among the Jews, or those of Sandilya and Kashyapa among the Brahmins, we feel transported to the age of prophecy in the one case and of poetry in the other.

Notwithstanding, however, these uses and associations, hereditary honours are subject, as we have already declared, to many serious abuses. Nothing can be a more sorry spectacle than the sight of empty conceits of dignity unadorned with the gifts of nature and fortune, and unaccompanied by the recommendations of talent and virtue. It was a just reproach of idle boasters of family distinction, which John the Baptist, on the banks of the Jordan, levelled against the haughty Pharisees and Sadducees that solicited his baptism, when calling them a *generation of vipers*, he declared the vanity of their descent from Abraham. The experience of many ages and countries has convinced mankind, that idle boasters of noble genealogies generally depart from the virtuous career of their distinguished ancestors, from whom they derive their names and titles—as far, indeed, and as widely as the Pharisees and Sadducees of St. John the Baptist's time had degenerated from Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.

The Brahminical Kuls which Bullal instituted contained

\* Bacon.

radically still more prolific seeds of evil than similar institutions in other countries. In England, hereditary titles are held by temporal lords, or the *laity* alone, and are transmissible under the restrictions of the law only to the eldest sons, or next in lineal descent. If some peerages are spiritual, these are attached merely as official adjuncts and honours to the select few whose piety and learning "the king delights to honour." As the guardians of religion and overseers of God's household, they are certainly entitled to some distinction. But the English Bishops are not an order of *hereditary* hierarchy pretending to so much importance on the score of *birth-right*. Even the feudal prelacies of the dark ages were exempt from this abuse. The bishops of old popish days, though at the same time both *pastors* and *warriors*, and perhaps more dexterous as sons of Mars than as sons of the Church, were *elected* officers and vassals of the crown. They were not a race of *hereditary* priests uniting the temporal and spiritual swords under the same grasp, or simultaneously admonishing and coercing their flocks and villeins—the one to cultivate the peaceful dispositions of the Christian, the other to arm for battle and slaughter.

The Kuls of which we are speaking, are, however, *temporal* honours attached to *hereditary* spiritual families, and although they are not connected with the military vassalage of the feudal bishops, yet since *villages* and *districts* were settled upon them, they contained the germs of every description of tyranny, which in a more warlike country and under a longer continuance of its political independence, might have grown into full maturity. Among the Brahmins of Bengal, again, a Kulinhood descends to all male children lawfully begotten, and as these worthies do not scruple to multiply their wives to any extent, the propagation of their ranks surpasses all calculation. The country has accordingly been overrun with these hungry dignitaries, and has groined under the burden of supporting and maintaining them. Even at the present day some unbroken Kulins will hardly condescend to work for their livelihood. As Brahmins they consider themselves entitled to all the good things which the country can produce, and as *dignitaries* they fancy they have a right to fleece the *priests themselves*. The disastrous consequences of such freaks, originally encouraged by a crowned head, and always unopposed by the populace, need no illustration in detail.

Neither are the Kulinhoods subject to forfeiture for personal delinquencies. Even the spiritual baronies of the middle ages have sometimes been subject to deprivations and forfeitures. But no criminality can affect the family honours of the Kulin

Brahmins of Bengal ; and this exemption naturally encourages vice and wickedness. Every new generation appears to depart further and further from the rule, which directed the original foundation of the order. We do indeed occasionally learn from tradition and doggerel ballad-mongers, of Kulin families being degraded for personal delinquencies. Such instances, however, even if these sources of information may be credited, were confined to the age of the Sen dynasty, who were the original founders and especial patrons of Kulinism. No discipline of the kind has ever been since exercised. *Rughumandan Turkálankár*, one of the authors we have named above, proves by elaborate argumentation that such discipline is inadmissible in these days ! The Brahmins themselves have never stirred a finger to uphold the purity of their order. It is, on the contrary, a favourite maxim with them that moral transgression cannot affect the dignity of one's birth. *The cow, they say, does not forfeit its superiority even if it take the most filthy food, nor can the swine partake of the cow's sanctity even if it feed on grass, herbs, and water.* The only sin which soils one's Kulinism in their estimation, is an unequal marriage ; but of this we shall have to speak in the sequel.

The Kulins formed by Bullal Sen and afterwards enlarged by Lakhmun Sen, were of diverse *mels* or orders. Of these four were considered *primary*, and are still held in the highest veneration. They took their designation from the places where at their own request they were allowed to settle, and they are to this day distinguished by the names of *Fule*, *Khurdah*, *Sarrámanlí*, and *Bullaví*\*. In these orders were comprehended the most meritorious of the descendants of the five colonists from Kanouj ; that is, the most virtuous of the Banerjeas, the Chatterjeas, the Mookerjeas, the Ghosauls, and the Gangoolies. Of the family of Butt Narayen,† that is the Banerjea family, two persons were raised, Maheswer and Makarand ; of the sons of Daksha, that is the Chatterjeas, Bahurup, and Arabind were honoured ; Utsava was the only member of the Mookerjea family descended from Sriharsa that was distinguished ; three of the Ghosauls or sons of Chhander, viz. Ingad, Govardhan, and Kanu, and two of the Gangoolies or descendants of Vedgarva, viz. Shisho and Rodhaker were likewise exalted. These were all the principal Kulins raised to dignity by king

\* The author of the *Kula Sara Sindhu* says, that the distinction of *mels* was subsequent to the institution of the Kuls, and was occasioned by the disparity of qualifications exhibited by the various families that had already been exalted. He considers these divisions as marks of disgrace rather than of honour, and represents in detail the delinquency of each family as the cause of its specific surname.

† There is considerable difference of opinion between authors as to the names and number of the parties first created Kullins.



Bullal, and they were designated either after one or other of the four *mels* already named, or from the family to which they were respectively attached. The Ghosauls and the Gangoolies comprehended three other distinctive appellations after three of their sons of fame, viz. Putitandi, Kanjilaul and Kunda.

Lukhman Sen, the son and successor of Bullal, followed up and improved the heraldry instituted by his father, and enlarged the names and orders of the Kuls to an enormous length. The primary orders were left untouched. The inferior or secondary *mels* were spun out into nearly thirty subdivisions. By these intricate multiplications of high-sounding titles, the king may have rendered himself popular among his Brahmins, but he benefited neither his family, his country, nor any body else, except perhaps the Kulins themselves and the Ghataks.\* His posterity were deserted by these very dignitaries on the approach of Mehomed Bukhtyar at the head of his victorious army flushed with the conquest of Behar. In his old age, the last prince of the Sen dynasty was obliged to surrender his crown into the hands of the Javans, and betake himself to an ignominious flight. His sceptre was wrenched from his hand by the followers of the impostor, and the land of the *Kulins* and *Shrotriyas* was deprived of its independence and shorn of its glory. The very reigns which had mustered such a dignified array of newly-created titles† numbered the days of freedom and liberty in Bengal, and introduced all the miseries of the iron age, which the old sages are said to have predicted with such piteous forebodings, and under which the country smarted for many a tedious century.

Besides these Kulins, another order of Brahmins was honoured in Bullal's time, who were called the *Shrotriyas*. The descendants of the five Kanouj Brahmins, though at first they had avoided all intercourse with the *Saptasati* or aboriginal Brahmins of Bengal, were subsequently induced to accept their daughters as wives. The offspring of these marriages were considered inferior to their fathers, but superior to their

\* The *Ghataks* are the keepers of genealogical tables and judges of the relative dignity of families. When proposals of marriage are stipulated, their books and opinions are sought as a security against unequal or illegal contracts. Their verdicts are generally considered as final and decisive.

† The principal orders of Kulins we have already mentioned. We may as well name some of the inferior *mels* in this place:—Panditratny, Baugal, Surayee, Acharya Sekhary, Chatta Raghaby, Pariball, Dehata, Dasharath Ghataky, Shabharajkhany, Madadarkhany, Achambeta, Chandrabaty, Baly, Kakutsthy, Raghab Ghosaly, Bijoypandity, Sadanandakhany, Naria, Udharany, Chharyee. Whether these appellations be musical or not, they give in their Roman dress sufficient trial to our own guttural and palatal organs, and we are sure they will afford still better pastime to our readers.

mothers and maternal grand-sires. They had half the blood of Kanouj, and were therefore esteemed superior to the aboriginal priests, and they had half the blood of the *Saptasatis*, and so were held inferior to their fathers. The most meritorious of these persons the king honoured with the title of *Shrotriyas*. They had this privilege among others, that the *Kulins* might marry their daughters without prejudice to their ranks. They have accordingly proved a connecting link between the *Kulins* and the *Saptasatis*. Their houses are the authorized nurseries for breeding wives for the exalted Brahmins; and they take no small pride in reflecting on the importance which this honour imparts to their class. They are the appointed instruments of propagating the *Kulins*, of whom they are both fathers-in-law and maternal grand-fathers.

What enhances the value of this privilege is, that the *Kulins* cannot marry women from any other families, not even from the subordinate *Kulins* themselves, without degrading their offspring. This brings us to the intricate laws of matrimony as they are binding upon the *Kulins*. A transgression against these laws is the only delinquency which can disable a titled family. The effects of the disqualification cannot, however, reach the delinquent himself, who continues in the full possession of his honours as long as he lives. It is his offspring who suffer from this discipline of Brahminical heraldry.

The *Kulins* are strictly forbidden, on pain of forfeiting their title, to receive wives from families that are inferior to themselves, with the exception of the *Shrotriyas* just mentioned. When this rule is transgressed, although the delinquent himself does not suffer personally, his *kul* is pronounced to be broken or dissolved. He himself dies, as he was born, in the enjoyment of his honour; but his offspring forfeit the title, and the glory of the family becomes tarnished. It is impossible to conceive the reason for which the Brahmins have rendered their *kuls* so invulnerable in other respects, and yet so easily dissoluble by a lawful, though *unfashionable*, union. Whatever be the philosophy of the law, it has produced beneficial effects. So exuberant are the Kuls, in consequence of their descending equally to all legitimate sons, begotten through multitudes of contemporaneous wives by the same fathers, that whatever tends to thin their ranks must be considered a blessing to the country. Such increasing swarms of lordly Brahmins could not fail to be a pest to the people.

This disqualifying law has not stood a dead letter in works on the Kuls. Occasions have often presented themselves for

its execution. Matrimonial alliance with the Kulins has always been an object of ambition with the Brahmins. Not only the Shrotriyas, who are privileged by their very institution to bid for titled sons-in-law, but the inferior orders too, are to this day continually hunting after *kuls* to exalt their daughters by an honourable union. The lordly Brahmins are naturally flattered by this quest of their alliance, and do not fail to improve the connubial market to their best advantage. Prices are set upon their compliance in proportion to the demand, and to the risk the bridegroom incurs of forfeiting his title for his posterity. A Shrotriya can, for instance, prevail upon a Kulin to accept of his daughter with a smaller fee than one of inferior connections. In either case fees must be given before a wife will be received. A *Kulin* would, however, prefer a *Shrotriya* to any other, because his title would in that case stand unsullied. But avarice frequently overpowers hereditary pride. Larger bribes will often purchase a son-in-law of the highest family for the most despised classes. On such occasions the *kul* is pronounced to be incapable of further descent; and these cases are so frequent, that unbroken *kuls* of the primary *mels* are now rarely to be met with in many places.

Although an unequal marriage dissolves a person's *kul*, his immediate descendants are not at once classed with the *Vansaj*, or common Brahmins. For four or five generations the recollections of their ancestral dignity secure for the sons of a broken *Kulin* great honour and distinction. They are treated like the younger sons of a privileged family in England, who, though they inherit not the title and the parliamentary seat, are in other respects not only addressed as *lords* or *honourables*, but also received in society as members of the nobility. The descendants of a *Kulin*, even after the disruption of his *kul*, are, for several generations, considered superiors in rank and dignity. The brightness and lustre of a noble family are supposed to be incapable of being tarnished at once and by a single act, though the days of its glory are then numbered, and nothing will restore it to its primitive greatness. The immediate offspring of such a family are designated the sons of a *Sacakrita-bhanga*, or self-broken *Kulin*, and esteemed as a *second* grade or inferior by one step only to untainted orders. The next generation is esteemed as the *third* in rank, and inferior by *two* steps to the highest class. This gradual deterioration continues unto the *fourth* and *fifth* generations, after which the glory of the family is obscured, and it sinks to the level of the commonalty. So many families have now been thus shorn of their pretended glory, that it is often difficult to find out unbroken *kuls* of the

four primary *mels*. The present high Brahmins are chiefly those of broken families of the second and third generations. Many have already been induced to sacrifice their honours at the shrine of their avarice. It is strange that of the many *broken kuls* now in existence, though the cause has in every case been an improper marriage, scarcely one is known to have been compromised from feelings of *love*.\* In other countries, when persons of distinction are induced to marry below their level, the motive generally is *personal attachment*. With the *Kulins* of Bengal the case is far different. Mammon, "the least erected spirit that fell," is the god at whose altar they sacrifice their titles.

The laws which regulate the marriage of Kulin females are cruelly stringent. These must not, on any account, be given to any but persons of an equal or superior grade. Neither the *Shrotriyas*, nor any inferior order, can aspire to the hand of a Kulin's daughter. An indelible disgrace would be affixed upon such a prostitution of a girl of birth and family. But her hereditary honour becomes her heaviest misfortune. The greatest difficulty is experienced in settling her in life. The only circles from which a husband may be selected are in quest everywhere and by everybody. To outbid the *Shrotriyas* and others in the purchase of a noble bridegroom would require larger funds than many a Kulin can command. The greatest misery and distress are accordingly occasioned. To suffer a young girl incapable of rational occupations and intellectual amusements to remain in celibacy, would be to expose her virtue to too severe an ordeal. An uncultivated mind, destitute of the restraints by which education balances the animal passions, and unprotected by a husband's tender care, must be subject to temptations of no ordinary power. Unmarried females in Christian communities, with the godly influences of the Gospel to regulate their lives, and literary pursuits to occupy and ennoble their thoughts, have often proved ornaments to their sex. The case would be different in a heathen country, and with minds untought, and ignorant and unrestrained by principles. No parent here dares to risk his daughter's virtue by allowing her to lead a single life. The institutions of Hinduism, too, denounce the fiercest anathemas against such conduct. The severest condemnation is passed upon a Brahmin that neglects to get his daughter married before she completes her *tenth* year. The most meritorious way of disposing her is to present her at the hymeneal altar when she is eight years old. The *second* best way is before her *ninth* year is terminated.

\* We are of course not speaking of the *age* in which the *kuls* were first instituted.

At all events, her wedding should not be delayed beyond her *tenth* year. Longer procrastination entails upon the delinquent the guilt and infamy of *infanticide*. The distress and perplexity of a poor Kulin when his daughter attains the marriageable age are therefore inexpressible. He cannot give her away to a less dignified person than himself for fear of a lasting disgrace. His equals and superiors will not receive her without a large *pan* or dowry. To postpone the ceremony would be to fall under the lash of the Shasters. In this difficulty, necessity forces him often to procrastinate; and he prefers the silent rebukes of Manu and Narada to the living reproaches of his contemporaries. His only resource at last is to entreat some old Kulin, who has already made several profitable bargains in his life, to commiserate the misfortunes of an indigent fellow dignitary, and by adding to his long list of monied wives another piteous girl, to save a titled family from impending ruin. Compassion to a suffering brother may induce the superannuated polygamist to extricate him from his deplorable plight, especially since, at such an age, there is little prospect of his making a more lucrative husbandry of himself. In this way the Kulin father may free himself from his difficulty by giving away his young daughter as an additional partner of a decrepit brother dignitary. Parents have also been known, in their distress and perplexity, to present their daughters, with all the solemnities of a religious ceremony, to persons on their deathbeds, in order to evade the Shastric condemnation of suffering female offspring to remain *asanscrita*, or *destitute of the matrimonial sacrament*, and to avert the odium of offering them to inferior orders.

Kulinism is thus the very hotbed of Hindu polygamy, and of all its attendant evils. Venality or pity towards distressed brethren incites these hungry nobles to multiply their wives without number. The female suffering hereby occasioned needs not be detailed. The Kulin bridegrooms can scarcely keep house with their numberless wives, who are therefore obliged to reside under the protection of their own paternal relations. The husbands fix their head-quarters where their fathers-in-law are rich enough to settle lands and houses upon them, and sometimes visit the others in rotation. The majority of their wives seldom chance to see them—never perhaps share in their affection. To be tied to a husband of so many wives must of itself be a sufficient infliction; scarcely ever to enjoy his society must be a still severer doom; and yet few Kulin girls are exempt from either misfortune. Many a Kulin's son cannot tell the exact number of his step-mothers and half-brothers!

That there are happy exceptions, we have the highest pleasure in recording; and this reflection is a great relief to the imagination. When a Kulin is well off in the world, and has with his title inherited an adequate fortune, he abstains for the most part from defiling himself by a disgraceful polygamy. It is impossible not to take delight in contemplating these cases. Such families are justly entitled to veneration for their ancient distinction. They remind us of old times without disgusting our feelings by unseemly and distressing spectacles. A *second* preservative against Kulin polygamy is witnessed when opulent Shrotriyas and others purchase a noble bridegroom at a good price, and then contrive to secure him from the temptation of multiplying his wives. In extreme cases they proceed to the length of obstructing the perpetration of such debasing acts by intimidation, and even more violent measures. Many families in Calcutta have in some such way procured monogamist husbands for their daughters. *Thirdly*, the Kuls, like other communities, have also sometimes presented extraordinary examples of virtuous men, who, from elevated principles and tender susceptibilities, have spared themselves the distraction, and their wives and children the misery, inseparable from multitudinous contemporaneous partners in life. Such instances are still more entitled to our respect and admiration. They exhibit the triumph of humanity over venality, and of conjugal affection over a tempting and legalized concubinage. With these exceptions, however, the Kuls are cruel engines of female misery and degradation. Neither age nor debility dissuades a person from contemplating new matrimonial contracts, and thereby sacrificing fresh victims to his avarice or waywardness. Death alone disables him from doing further mischief.

We cannot here help expressing our wonder at the readiness with which the Hindus of Bengal almost universally submit to this vicious institution, when the most orthodox and bigoted cannot plead any higher authority for its perpetuation than that of a mere temporal sovereign,—himself not a Brahmin. Where divine sanctions are pretended we may pity the ignorance, but cannot rudely assail the *motive*, however mistaken, or vilify the piety, however false. While, for instance, we can weep over the fanaticism and monstrous cruelty which exposed the infant or burnt the widow, we cannot severely vituperate the zeal which promoted it, though against knowledge. But the establishment of *kuls* is on all hands acknowledged to have been long posterior to the pretended age of Brahminical revelations. Neither Menu nor Vyas, neither the Shruti nor the Smriti have authorized the laws and rules of the *Kulins* and

the *Shrotriyas*.\* A monarch of the medical tribe—itself a *Sanker* caste—legalized by his royal patent this degrading institution. And yet with the human knowledge of this human origin, the learned and unlearned, the educated and the uneducated, bend their necks without complaint or murmur to the galling yoke, and are content to undergo the suffering and misery with which it richly abounds. Neither the tender susceptibilities of the husband and the father, nor the ennobling principles of the scholar and the philosopher, are found sufficient for curing the evil. The heart-rending cries of female victims, and the soft suggestions of knowledge and education, yea, and the powerful voice of justice and humanity are silenced with equal ease by the charms of the almost talismanic instrument of Bullal's invention.

The kuls of which we have hitherto been speaking are of the *Rariya Brahmins*, so called from the locality where they settled, and distinguished by the favours which Bullal and his son had heaped upon them. But there is another class of Brahmins likewise descended from the five Kanouj emigrants, who have also similar distinctions among themselves. The *Sagnic* Brahmins, whom Adisur had naturalized in Bengal, were held in the highest estimation all over the country, and the superior sacrificial feast celebrated with so much pomp and grandeur at which this holy fraternity officiated, had attracted the notice, and almost excited the envy, of all surrounding princes. Birmallah,† in particular, the king of Barender, felt emulous of the glory which Adisur, his son-in-law, had acquired by his solemn festivities, and desired to impart a similar lustre to his own dominions by celebrating an equally splendid sacrifice himself. He accordingly applied to the king of Gour for five Brahmins of the Kanouj family, who might realize this object,

\* The words *Kul* and *Shrotriya* occur in the Shasters, but there they mean *good family* and *familiarity with the Vedas*, in a general way. The establishment of the orders and the specific determination of the *mats* are universally acknowledged to be of modern invention.

† The traditions respecting the five Brahminical emigrants from Kanouj, and the sacrificial feast celebrated by Adisur, as well as Bullal's reputed parentage from him, involve several improbabilities and contradictions, which it is impossible to clear or explain. If Adisur procured only five priests from Kanouj for solemnizing his contemplated ceremony, how could he immediately upon its completion, that is, within a few months of their arrival, get five more of the same stock to spare for his father-in-law. And how could the descendants of these exotic priests multiply so rapidly in the course of one reign, if he was the reputed father and immediate predecessor of Bullal, in whose time, we are told, these Brahmins had filled the country. All this forces us to conclude that Bullal was one of his remote descendants, as the author of the *Raja balie* maintains, who calls him the son of Dhisen, and that Birmallah applied for the five sacerdotal grants at a much later period. Nor could this last named prince, if the Brahmins removed to Barender at his instance, have been the father-in-law of Adisur.

and naturalize themselves in his kingdom. Adisur acceded to his father-in-law's wishes, and presented him with five priestly grafts from his Kanonj stock. These Brahmins, thus separated from their brethren, received the designation of *Barenders* from the province where they settled, and gradually became entirely a distinct class. The descendants of the first emigrants were thus divided into two branches,—the *Rariyas* and the *Barenders*, which eventually considered themselves as separate races, and refused all manner of alliance and intercourse among themselves, either by marriage or the interchange of hospitality.

The royal patron of the Barenders did not fail to imitate the example of his friend of Gour in creating Kulins and Shrotriyas among his Brahmins. Eight families were distinguished by the former honourable title, and eight by the latter. The *Moitras*, the *Bhims*, the *Rudras*, the *Sandels*, the *Lahurys*, the *Schahobs*, the *Bhaders*, and the *Bhaduris*, were made Kulins:—the *Karanjans*, the *Nandabasis*, the *Nauris*, the *Atars*, the *Bhandushalis*, the *Kamdebs*, the *Champatis*, and the *Jhampatis*, were reckoned as Shrotriyas. This classification must have been made at a later period, when the five grafts had ramified into many families.

Bullal Sen was not satisfied with honouring the most deserving of his priests. He instituted Kulinships among the *Kayasthas* also. These were the descendants of the *third* twice-born order by females of the *servile* caste, and filled an intermediate grade between the *regenerated* and the *slaves*. Intermarriages among the several castes, though not encouraged, were tolerated in the first ages of Hinduism. The superior orders were indeed prohibited from giving their *daughters* to their inferiors, but they were allowed to accept *wives* from their ranks. The offspring of these mixed marriages were called *Saukers*, or *half-castes*, who were considered a distinct race from their fathers and mothers. The mixed tribes thus produced had attracted notice as early as the days of Menu, who distinctly mentions them as separate orders, and legislates for them in his institutes. The *Sankarmâlî*, a chapter in the *Parâshara Paddhati*, one of the works at the head of this article, expressly treats on this subject, describing the original, and defining the professions of these people.

The five priestly emigrants from Kanonj were accompanied by five servants or followers. Sriharsa was attended by Makarânda Ghose,—Chhandar by Dasharatha Bose,—Daksha by Kalidas Mitter,—Narayan by Purushottam Dutt, and Ved-



garva by Dasharatha Guha.\* These five servants were the progenitors of the most respectable Kayasthas of Bengal, known among Europeans, and described in the *Sanharmala* as the *writer caste, living by their pens*. The royal munificence of Bullal was not exhausted by the honours he distributed among the Brahmins. He proceeded to distinguish their followers too. But as the highest privilege of the *unregenerated* classes was to acknowledge vassalage to the *regenerate*, the king inquired of the Kayasthas whether they professed servitude to the Brahmins. Ghose, Bose and Mitter, made a plenary confession of their dependence on the *twice-born*, and declared themselves absolutely and unreservedly their servants and bondsmen. This abject submission was naturally gratifying to a monarch who fawned on the priests, and patents were immediately issued, conferring the title of *Kulins* on the Ghoses, the Boses, and the Mitters. Dutt was not equally compliant. He evinced an independent or refractory spirit, and refused to enroll himself in the list of vassals to the Brahmins. He professed only to have accompanied the *Sagnic* emigrants from Kanouj, but repudiated the idea of *villeinage* to any body. This sensitiveness was considered a sufficient reason for withholding the royal favour from him. His sentiments of personal independence, and his descent from the Kanouj stock, were, however, so far appreciated as to procure for him the privilege of intermarrying with his more fortunate brethren. The poor Guha proved the most unlucky. The very mention of his family appellation reminded the monarch of his name-sake, the king of the *Chandals* spoken of in the *Ramayana*; and this unhappy association prejudiced him most sadly in the estimation of the whole royal court. His origin was considered suspicious, and a degree was conferred upon him, rendering him *noble* only among the *Bangaj* or aboriginal *Kayasthas*.

In order to represent at one view the peculiar features of this privileged creature of Bullal's policy, forming the subject of the present article, we shall here fill up some of the preceding outlines, and make a faint exhibition of the *Kulin's* many-coloured life and character. The word *Kulin* suggests to an oriental mind, the idea of a high-caste and well-bred, though not necessarily a *wealthy* Brahmin,—born, probably, under the protection of his maternal relatives, and apparent

\* The relative servitude of these Kayasthas is somewhat differently stated in the *Raja bali* of Mrityunjaya.—Sriharsa is there represented as the master of Kalidas Mitter, Chhandar of Purushottam Dutt, Daksha of Dasharatha Bose, Bhutt Narayen of Makarand Ghose, and Vedgarva of Dasharatha Guha.

heir of moveables and immoveables, rather by right of his mother than of his father. We do not of course mean that he inherits his *Kulin escentheon* from his mother, or *her* progenitors. But we may fairly suppose him to be more tenderly fondled by his *maternal* than his *paternal* uncles, and to contract greater intimacy with his cousins by the mother's than the father's side. If happily he comes into the world as the first-born of his father's *best-loved* wife, he fortunately enjoys a larger share of his affections than his step-brothers. But whether he chances to be his *father's* pet or not, he is sure to be his *mother's*. Her fondest hopes are concentrated in him. Her imagination kens nothing but scenes of brightness and lustre in his future auspicious career in the world. She will not be able to tell anybody what she expects him to be,—still less can her fancy chalk out the line or the profession she hopes he may successfully follow;—but she often dreams of the golden stars by which he will, perchance, adorn the escentheon of the family—the splendour of wealth and reputation by which he may ornament the dignity of his birth. She feels herself already transformed from the wife of a heartless, and perhaps vagrant and beggarly polygamist, into the mother of an affectionate and illustrious son.

In common with all Hindu boys, our infant Kulin is religiously introduced at the age of five to a family tutor, and begins to handle the *Khari*\* under his direction. He has now to go over his alphabet regularly once every day, and to repeat his arithmetical tables after the dictating *guru*. This is, however, no heavier burden than all his little friends of the higher orders have to sustain. But the peculiar dignity of his parentage subjects him to the additional labour of mastering a dry† catalogue of jaw-crashing epithets, catechetically taught him, respecting the origin and distinction of his family. He is called upon to remember the names of his fathers for several generations: their *mel*, their *gotra*, the *venerable* founders of their family, and various other jargon, which he neither understands nor cares for, and to which his articulating organ can scarcely give utterance. About the age of nine or ten he is

\* A species of chalk with which Hindu boys are made to form the letters of their alphabet.

† The catechism in which the young *Kulin* is orally instructed is a curious piece of fond tradition. The following are some of its questions and answers:—*Q.* How long have you and your ancestors been Brahmins? *A.* As long as the sun and the moon have been in existence. *Q.* Can you prove this? *A.* Yes—*Yávat merusthite devá, yavat Gangá mahitale, chandrárko gagane yávat, tavat Vipra Kule vayan;*—*we are as ancient a family of Brahmins as the gods on Mount Meru—as the Gangas on the earth—as the sun and the moon in the sky.* *Q.* What are the qualifications of a *Kulin*? *A.* Good manners, &c., as given in a former page.

sacramentally invested with the holy string which marks the Brahmin, and which inducts him to his birthright privilege of receiving the homage and adoration of those around him. The self-complacent pride which this investiture produces is, however, associated with a smart operation which, in *his* age, he dislikes as much as he likes to be considered a god incarnate. At his consecration his ears must be bored through with sharp needles, and the holes kept open by the insertion of pins or ear-rings. His consecration renders him eligible for the other *Saushkar*, or sacrament of marriage. And now the eyes of *Ghatukas* are turned towards him. These are Brahmins who live, as has been described in a previous note, by procuring and promoting matrimonial contracts between different parties. A Kulin's connection is always in quest, especially while a bachelor; and these negotiators of marriage-treaties find a character of this kind a profitable instrument to work by. Neither do the relations of the bridegroom fail to make the most they can of the opportunity. Before he is perhaps full fourteen—often when still younger—the troth is made in his name, the treaty signed, the ceremony performed, and the boy of fourteen is tied to and made to sleep with a girl of eight! If the bride's friends be wealthy, and can secure his person in their own house, the boy is preserved from the further intrigues of *Ghatukas*, and from the toils of polygamy. If he continues to reside under his paternal, or rather maternal roof, he is constantly in danger of being ensnared into a second and third marriage. His own inclination or interest may also lead him, when of age, to add a few more names to his list of wives. The Kulin is seldom satisfied with one wife at a time; he generally owns a number. It is difficult, however, owing to no public registration of Hindoo marriages, to calculate an average of the number. We have authentic information of a person marrying, within the last century, no fewer than 180 wives, and we know persons that have had as many as twenty. We also know, and cheerfully confess, on the other hand, that several have repudiated altogether the privilege of multiplying their wives. We may, however, safely say, that polygamy is the rule among the *Kulins*, notwithstanding our inability to give an exact average number of their wives.

To feed many wives, or to keep a quiet house with so many jealous and sensitive rivals, is no easy work. The Kulin is therefore obliged to allow them to live in their paternal mansions, and selects the richest or the fairest to keep house with himself. The others he can only visit occasionally; and, when he does so, he finds the visitation not altogether unprofitable.

He seldom undertakes these journeys without substantial tokens of attachment from his wives' relations. If his general residence or head-quarters be fixed in or near the metropolis, he pursues some avocation for bettering his circumstances in life. The priestly profession—at least that branch of it which may be likened to the *curacies* in England, with *large* flocks but *scanty* subsistence, he seldom undertakes. The office of such humble parochial ministers is not held in high repute among the proud Brahmins of India. The *Sankarmāli*, which we have placed as one of the titles of this article, allots to it the *sixth* rank in society, below two of the lower and one *sankar* orders themselves. The Kulin aspires to the situation of a *gentleman* at large; and even if the title he inherits by his birth be a mere *empty* honour, and he be forced to subsist upon the bounty of his wife's relations, he never foregoes his ambition to retrieve his fortune, nor gives up his fond notions of self-dignity.

The *Kulin's* visits to most of his wives being *few and far between*, the moral influence of his absence from them has generally been supposed to be subversive of their conjugal fidelity. The supposition does not, perhaps, proceed from a wilful disregard of charity, but it is a certain sign of great ignorance, with reference to the domestic lives of the Hindus. Sexual impurity is, it is true, scarcely considered a sin in the *males*; but in *females* nothing is held more execrable or abominable. The unhappy inhabitants of houses of ill fame are looked upon as the most degraded of the human species. A Hindu, however dissipated himself, would sooner destroy than tolerate a wife of the least moral stain in his house. The women, too, except perhaps in the lowest ranks of society, consider matrimonial faithfulness as their first and paramount duty, notwithstanding the irregularities to which their husbands may be addicted. It is, in fact, the only virtue which they care to preserve, and to the unspotted maintenance of which their whole hearts are devoted. But this reflection, so honourable to the wife, renders the guilt of the wayward husband proportionably aggravated.

Though the sexual virtue of the Hindu female generally stands proof against temptation, the system which allots to her but a *share*, sometimes a very *inconsiderable* share, of her husband's affections, and which virtually decoys him away from her company, cannot be too indignantly reprobated. The *Kulin* polygamist, who wanders from one wife's house to another, can have no taste of domestic comfort, and is scarcely susceptible of the tender emotions of our nature. He can neither be a good husband nor a good father.

But in our anxiety to preserve uninterrupted the thread of our Kulin narrative, we are committing, perhaps, a more that venial trespass against the learned *Bhattacharyas*, whose works are superscribed at the head of this essay. The genealogical tables by *Dhrubamanda Misra* are held in the greatest repute in Bengal. They contain the names of the different *kuls* and their members from the time of their settlement by Bullal, Lakhman and Devibara, and are considered as authorised judges of family pretensions. Those by *Vachaspati Misra*, though they are not before us at this moment, are also received as decisive authorities. But *Dhrubamanda* and *Vachaspati*, like many other judges and doctors, are sometimes found to *disagree* among themselves. On such occasions, if all attempts to reconcile these authors prove ineffectual, *private* individuals are obliged to decide for themselves. But wherever the masters of heraldry are consentient, the Brahmins exclude *private judgment* with the same vehemence with which Romanists denounce individual opinions against their pretended catholicity. Those, however, who are *singly* subject to error and inaccuracy, may, in certain cases, be so *collectively* too, for a series of *fallibles* will not amount to a *constructive infallibility*; and where an exemption from mistakes and misapprehensions cannot be proved from higher evidences, one can scarcely be called self-opinionated in suspecting the correctness, either of the Indian Ghatakas or of the Popish saints, especially since both have been over zealous of exposing their fables and genealogies to the public gaze.

The *Kula-Sara-sindhu* is an able, though not an authorized work on the Kuls, containing a delineation of their laws, and giving the genealogy of the Banerjeas. The author disclaims all pretensions to the veneration claimed by the Ghatakas, or any desire of *superseding the professions and sharing in their fees*. He writes at the request of his personal friends, who had looked for a discursive treatise on the subject from his pen. The *Mukhti-Kula-vernana* is a simple genealogy of the Mukerjeas, compiled by some private individual, and valuable to these families as a work for reference.

The *Historical Fragment* we have quoted, is a valuable and interesting composition. We have styled it a *Fragment*, both because it chronicles events only in a passing way, and as an introduction to a dry genealogy of the Kulins, and because we are at this moment in possession of a *fraction* alone of the work. It commences anonymously with a high eulogium on the dignity of the Brahminical caste. It is more meritorious, according to this author, to recount the virtues of the *twice-born* than the exploits of the gods themselves. *Sandilya, Kashyapa, Sa-*

*varna*, and others appear here in more brilliant colours than *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*. *Rama*, *Porusharama*, *Judhisthira*, *Vikramaditya*, and all other crowned heads had delighted to honour and worship the Brahmins, and endowed them with the sovereignty of the world under them. The age of Adisur is next described. The poetic author gives a somewhat different account of the occasion which introduced the priestly emigrants into Bengal, than what we have delivered in the preceding pages, and what is generally received in the present day. The king of Gour is represented as aspiring to the empire of the world, and despatches messengers to his brother of Benares to demand homage and tribute. A wordy demonstration of power, and a pretension of authority founded upon rhetoric, seldom prevail in turning an independent monarch into a tributary vassal ;—nor would the sceptred lord of Shiva's own capital—the mansion of the gods, superior to Heaven itself—readily acknowledge fealty to the chief of a lower province, treated with solemn contempt in the ancient shasters, or recognised only as the unenviable haunt of savages and wild beasts. Even a British Governor-General of India, with all his guns and cannons, found it no smooth work, at a subsequent period, to subvert a Rajah of Benares. The feeling generated in the mind of Beer Sing, on the demand of tribute by Adisur, was accordingly unmingled pity at the infatuated ambition of an ignorant and upstart Bengalee. Even the priests in that *eternal* city knew the tactics of wars, and were masters of state policy. The Brahmins had been inured to the use of warlike implements as dexterously as their sacrificial grass and incense. The ambassador was put to the blush and returned to Gour. He portrayed in glowing colours the majesty and glory of the celestial city, the Brahmins whereof, unlike the pigmy priests of Bengal, proved impregnable bulwarks by the power of their superior sanctity and military skill. The king of Gour was struck by the report of his emissaries, and resolved to wipe away the disgrace of his country, and increase its strength and magnificence by procuring a supply of *Sagnic* priests from Benares. Five Brahmins were thus invited down to Bengal, whose names and gotras were the same as we have before related, and the king settled on them and their posterity five of the most pleasant districts in his dominions.

The Kulins of Bullal's creation are also differently numbered in the *Fragment* from the *Misra's* works. Of the sons of Bhutt Narayen (the Banerjees) six are said to have been originally made Kulins and ten Shrotriyas ; of Daksha's sons (the Chatterjees) four Kulins and eleven Shrotriyas ; of Chhandar's

and since the condition of the one sex exercises a sympathetic influence upon the other, no scheme of general social improvement in Bengal can take effect while this system continues. The males too of the *Vansaj* families are greatly inconvenienced by the institution of the kuls. So eager is every father to procure a noble son-in-law, that persons destitute of titles are held at a discount in the matrimonial market, and experience great difficulty in finding wives for themselves. They cannot of course aspire to the hands of Kulin girls; and those of their own ranks are often turned from them by the excessive demand for Kulin alliances. While therefore the daughters of distinguished families are not available for the *common* Brahmins, those of the latter are frequently offered to the former. The *Vansaj* are therefore almost invariably puzzled how to procure partners in life,—and are obliged to present pecuniary inducements, in order to divert their equals from their thoughts of forming Kulin connexions. The disastrous influence of Kulinism thus reaches beyond its own ranks, and turns *holy* matrimony into a profane question of premiums and discounts, even in the case of the *Vansaj* Brahmins.

That the system will ever be amended by its own friends it would be preposterous to hope. The leading Brahmins are too closely interested in its perpetuation to be supposed capable of wishing its abolition or even modification. For the removal of the disease, the mind naturally turns to the slow progress of Christianized sentiments now spreading rapidly, at least in the metropolis and large cities, by the dissemination of English education. The Hindus, even in their unconverted state, appear capable of appreciating the superior excellence of the evangelical maxims concerning marriage and divorce; nay, many have already begun to go the length of openly acknowledging the moral impropriety of owning more than one wife at the same time. The progress of such sentiments must gradually throw polygamy into disrepute, and concentrate the sympathies of the people in behalf of its unfortunate victims. This will sooner or later prove a mortal blow to the kuls, which must fall under the weight of their own enormities.

As Christian observers, however, we look forward to still happier days. It is when this magnificent empire shall, from the mountains in the north to the mighty ocean in the south, acknowledge and revere the truth as it is in Jesus, that its long and melancholy night of humiliation and affliction shall vanish before the Sun of Righteousness rising with healing on his wings. The gospel may be justly esteemed the true panacea for the sorest of human distempers. Not only the corrupt fabric of degenerate

Kulinism, but all systems of iniquity shall crumble to the dust under the divine ascendancy of Christianity. From the most galling of all yokes, the *truth* has already set a vast portion of the human race free. The triumphs it has achieved in Europe it is also capable of achieving in Asia. The female deliverance it has caused elsewhere by driving polygamy from human society, and defining the relative duties of husband and wife, it may and shall bring about in India, in the same manner and by the same means. Yes, the day shall come when the voice of truth shall be carried with power into the hearts and conscience of the natives around us;—when the institutions of error shall fall like the walls of Jericho at the sound of the evangelical trumpet. The mind, now held captive by idolatry and superstition, shall then be reclaimed from its inglorious servitude, and false distinctions of human invention be dissipated by the breath of Catholic feeling and the generous sympathies of an enlarged benevolence. The Brahmin and the Chandala, Kulins, Sudras, and women shall then worship at the same altar, eat of the same bread,—drink of the same cup,—with one mind and soul, and in one holy communion as the members of one household, and the servants and followers of one God and Father.

But this in God's own time. Meanwhile Christians must labour, both clergy and laity, to hasten this consummation. The Government, too, must redeem their Christian character by adapting their measures to the moral improvement of their subjects. We do not ask them to declare a Crusade, like the Templar and other knights of old, against idolatry and unchristian systems. The Gospel repudiates the use of the temporal sword in coercing a visible reception of its ordinances. The over-heated zeal of an apostle himself was rebuked by its own founder, for wielding such weapons in his cause. No,—let slaughtering instruments be confined to the ecclesiastical armoury of those who pretend to be successors of St. Peter—but represent his infirmities only, and are real imitators of the peculiar mode of his attack on the high priest's servant. But there are other ways in which the civil power can forward the progress of truth. It can throw its *moral* influence into the scale. It can manifest a higher respect than it has yet done for *intellectual* AND *spiritual* qualifications in its selection of educational agents. It can pronounce *open infidelity in any shape or form* to be a disabling character in aspirants after its tutorships and professorships. It can unlock for the rational contemplation of its students the rich stores of sacred literature and apologetic divinity which adorn the Englishman's library. It



can relieve some of the best and holiest productions of European authorship from the odium of its *index expurgatorius*, and proclaim liberty to such ornaments of the English language as Paley, Butler, Stillingfleet, Bp. Newton, Barrow, Tillotson, Sherlock, Hartwell, Horne, Keith, Campbell, Chalmers, and a host of others, now held tongue-tied in an iniquitous captivity in its colleges and schools. It can thankfully acknowledge and gratefully declare before its ignorant subjects, by means of its public instructors, the wonderful effects of Christianity in the west, to which itself is indebted for the power and supremacy in the east.

We shall in conclusion revert to the subject which constitutes the title of this article, and state what we believe to be the duty of Government with reference to the evils of this system. We do not mean to suggest the propriety of abolishing, by a single act an order which a crowned head had as summarily founded some centuries ago. Bullal's endowment of the kuls will not justify his English successors in forcibly sequestering their properties. We do not wish the Kulins to be pursued with fire and sword like the knights-templars of old. But the supreme government can surely restrain their polygamy by defining it to be a punishable crime, as well in the native as in the British subject. Lord William Bentinck's administration was signalized by the deliverance of the Suttee from the flames of a violent self-immolation. Sir Henry Hardinge's vice-royalty may also have an auspicious commencement by female relief from the unhappiness of sharing a husband with a multitude of co-partners. The institutions of Hinduism do not enjoin polygamy as a positive duty. They merely tolerate it, as they tolerate many other evils. The prohibition of what they do not command cannot amount to an interference with the Brahminical religion. The abolition of *Suttee*, which the Shasters encouraged and recommended, though not imperatively required, has been judicially defined by the king in council to be no violent contravention of the Hindu religion. The commission of perjury occasionally allowed by the Hindu sages, is also held justly punishable in the Company's Courts. Why should Bigamy and Polygamy be entitled to a franchise? Bigamy is criminal in a European;—why should a native be privileged to commit it with impunity? His abstinence from it cannot affect his religion;—why then should he be licensed to sacrifice the happiness and comforts of the female sex? If the system of Kulinism suffer from its prohibition, that will be no more than a restraint upon a degenerate order, which every one acknowledges to be an earthly and human fabrication.

The tolerant character of the British Government cannot thereby be compromised. The present holders of the Indian sceptre have never pledged themselves to keep up the efficiency of *all* their Hindu predecessors' enactments,—they are certainly not bound to respect the institutions of Bullal Sen, represented by the Hindus themselves as a prince of a *Sunker* caste. The natives themselves will hail in a body an act of legislation, by which their daughters will be saved from the misery and wretchedness of commanding a portion only of their husband's affections. For humanity's sake, then, let polygamy be proscribed. The wife has a right to the undivided possession of the husband; and since Hinduism does not oppose, and the people are disposed to be friendly, let her cry for justice be listened to in the Council Chamber and redress afforded by a legislative act of the Supreme Government.

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Although, for obvious reasons, it is no part of our design either to name or in any way, directly or indirectly, to indicate the writers of the several articles in our Review, we cannot on the present occasion deny ourselves the pleasure of stating that the foregoing article was written, as it now stands, by a native of India, once a Kulin Brahmin, and now a minister of the Church of England. We mention this, not for the purpose of stamping the article with an undoubted authenticity, though the fact of its being the work of one who was himself a member of the Kulin brotherhood, must greatly enhance its absolute value; but with the object of affording, more especially to the reader in England, a noble illustrative proof—worth a score of elaborate reports—of the effect which may be wrought by Education upon the Hindu mind. Viewed as the unaided work of a native of Bengal, the article, apart from its intrinsic merits as the best and most elaborate essay yet written on a subject of deep interest to the friends of humanity, will be considered not only a literary curiosity (better composition have we rarely seen, out of a writer's own vernacular), but a cheering evidence of good work actually done and a proof of what may be done—what, we hope, in good time will be done—by well-directed educational efforts, to change the nature of the people among whom we are permitted by Providence to dwell. We do not wish it to be understood that this article is an average sample of the produce of English education in the East—*O si sic omnia!* We merely state that it is the unaided work of one who was, not many years ago, a Kulin Brahmin; and we desire our readers to accept it as an illustration, not so much of what has been done, but of what under certain favourable circumstances of head and heart may be done, by that great remedial agent to which we must look for the cure of all the evils which have for centuries desolated Hindustan. To the discussion of this vast subject of Education we shall ere long address ourselves, endeavouring to show in the first place what has actually been done, and we think ourselves fortunate in being able, before entering upon the subject, to show, not by any speculations of our own, but by an exhibition of the ripest fruits of Education, what may be done by the labours of the husbandman on this most luxuriant soil.

ART. II.—1. *The Science of National Defence, with reference to India, accompanied by a Map, &c. &c.—by Frederick Corbyn. Calcutta: Thacker and Co.*

2. *The East India Register, for 1844. London, Allen and Co.*

3. *Allen's Map of India, from the latest surveys. London, 1844.*

IN many learned volumes, more or less empirical, we have an infinite variety of "sure means of preserving health." New remedies for all the abundant evils to which frail flesh is heir start into being every day, and doctors and disciples are so numerous in their diversities, and so strong in their convictions, that the marvel is, with so many infallible specifics, there is still so much human woe. The health which we are thus taught to preserve, after a variety of fashions so endless that it is difficult to escape following some one of them by chance, is the health of man as an individual unit; the health of man, in those thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands which constitute nations, is not so tenderly cared for; nor so assiduously watched; nor are such varied efforts made to preserve it. Still, ever and anon national remedies, for the cure of national diseases, are exhibited with an amount of confidence which we may call dogmatism; and whilst the wise men are quarrelling over their theories, the world is left very much to itself to suffer, uncared for and unrelieved. With the endless catalogue of ailments, which afflict a nation, as an individual, we have, in this place, nothing to do. In imitation of the medical writers of the present day, who now, for the most part, consider one organ and one disease, sufficient matter for an elaborate treatise, we direct our attention to one especial item of the great catalogue of national calamities. Peace is not in itself national health; but without it there can be no national health; and who will deny that the sage, who should write a treatise on the "true means of preserving peace,"—really exhibiting what it professes to exhibit—would entitle himself to a statue of gold in every city of the universe. There is no prospect, we fear, of such a consummation; but we have rival political schools, each propounding with an air of more or less infallibility its own profound dogmata; and often looking on with marvellous unconcern, whilst great battles are fought, and countries desolated in spite of their never-failing specifics. The two great schools may be described as the *irritative* and *sedative* schools. The former, proceeding upon the broad principle of the homœopaths, that *similia similibus curantur*, contend that war can only be cured by war—that it is necessary to make

war in order to preserve peace. The other lays down, with no more misgivings than its antagonist, the more desirable and encouraging doctrine, that war does not check, but generate war; that peace ever engenders peace; that there is no security so certain as that which we purchase for ourselves, by creating a sense of security in the breasts of our neighbours.

We do not now purpose to examine these antagonist doctrines. On whichever side worldly experience may range itself, there is no disinclination on the part of either to appeal to it as the standard whereby the question shall be settled. There is a better method of settlement; but it admits not of a conflict on equal ground, for one party is more inclined to that mode of adjustment than the other, whilst both are willing to appeal to human experience. The irritatives contend that there is no security without constant demonstrations of strength; that to be placid is to invite aggression; that to be ready to offend is the only way to escape being offended; that the birds of the air and the beasts of the field daily teach us this lesson; that we are instructed in it from our earliest youth, during which we learn by hard experience that we must fight our way up the schoolboy ladder to peace, and thus alone avoid molestation; that this same principle is at work in the larger school of nations, and that the history of the world declares the fact, that if we would escape the injuries and insults of our neighbours we must show, by a few practical exhibitions of our strength, not only our readiness but our ability to resent them. The sedatives, on the other hand, declare that to be tranquil and inoffensive is the surest means of inviting confidence, and thus of stifling the inclination to injure us; that the fear of being injured tempts to the commission of injury; and that, the converse of this being equally true, it follows that there is the utmost protectiveness in a peaceful and inoffensive character; and that so long as our neighbours consider themselves secure from ours, we shall be secure from *their* aggressions. Experience is said to demonstrate this; the man of peace is rarely insulted; the unarmed traveller walks more safely in the neighbourhood of the roving bandit, than he who goes armed to the teeth; that in troubled times, the man of peace, and he alone, escapes the perils of popular commotions; that with states, as with individuals, the one which never arms itself—which never prepares itself for aggression, or the resistance of aggression—is ever the last to be assailed; that, as soon as there is a falling off from such practical proofs of a firm reliance on Providence, the protection is at once withdrawn, and we take up arms to have them turned against us. Such are the arguments derived

from human experience—we are not at present to decide the contest.

Indeed, with regard to the matter now before us, it is not necessary that we should decide it. A resort to abstract speculation, however inviting, is no part of our career of duty, and we would rather, avoiding all controversies, build up our present structure on common admitted grounds. Our empire in the East is of so peculiar a nature, that we can scarcely make a just application of the principles of either one party or the other. It matters little what course would have been the best; we cannot now begin our work anew; or betake ourselves to new principles of action. We have reached an epoch at which it would appear to be our only course to make a compromise between the irritative and the sedative systems—or rather we should say, an epoch at which it becomes our duty to allow the former to merge into the latter. The irritative system has been tried—has been carried out to its full extent. It has been our practice now for nearly a century; and it would seem that we had attained to that eminence, which has been compared to the status of the school boy, who has fought his way to the very summit of pugilistic renown. If it be necessary for a nation to preserve itself from injury and insult by demonstrating its power, surely the British in the East have done so in the most unmistakable manner. There is little call for fresh demonstrations; for the weight of our arm is still acknowledged, and many are yet reeling under the blows which it has dealt out. We can now, therefore, afford to be pacific—but we cannot afford to be weak. We have no occasion to put forth our strength; but we must not suffer ourselves to waste it. We must keep ourselves up to the athletic standard; and as we have made our election we must abide by it—as we have fought our way to power, we must show ourselves capable of retaining the lofty position we have assumed. The time may come when we shall find our best safeguard in the hearts of a grateful people—but that time has not yet come, nor is there a near prospect of its advent. The sword, whether in the hand or in the scabbard, has yet its work to do; and the philanthropist may labour to some good purpose, in endeavouring to show in what manner it may best be shaped, for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of that dominion, which we are justified in regarding as a means, under Providence, of advancing the happiness of the people, who are compelled now to bear our yoke.

At first sight, bayonets and red coats do not appear to be precisely the instruments of Government which a philanthropist

would advocate: but we belie or deceive ourselves, when we declare or fancy that our Government is maintained otherwise than by the sword. And, in pronouncing it to be so, we are far from admitting that it must therefore be one of oppression. The land that has for nearly a thousand years been held by the sword, and that has as often changed hands as that sword has been blunted, or the grasp that held it relaxed; the land that knows no principality of longer standing than our own;\* that in its length and breadth, within the last fifty years, has seen Moguls, Patans, Mahrattahs, Pindarees, and mixed miscreants of every caste and clan, rooting up the old families, and settling themselves in their places—how could any Government, however beneficent, subsist for a day, simply by its civil policy, on the ruins of such a tempest-tossed land? How in a day convert tribes, who have lived only by war, to habits of peace? how make cultivators, who for centuries have never paid a rupee but under fear of the sword or the scourge?—how induce them to pay their dues, unless they know that the civil officer has the power of calling in the military, and that the latter is prompt and bold? It has been the fashion to exalt the Mahomedan conquerors at the expense of the British Government; and some of those who have most benefited by the latter, and possibly have in their sphere oppressed the subject, against the views, opinions, and orders of their masters, have been londest in vituperation of them; but let any impartial person turn over the pages of Dow—a violent hater of the system of his day, and we fear with too much reason—and see how little cause there is for singing the praises of the Moslem rule beyond that of the Christian. War, eternal war, was then the sole business of royalty. Akbar made some laws for the protection of the people, but he is almost a solitary exception; and having spent the half-century of his reign in eternal battles and ceaseless marches, he could have had but little time to look to the improvement and cultivation of his empire. In the early days of his reign, every province was in rebellion, and with him, as with his predecessors and successors, while Guzerat was being subdued, Cashmere or Bengal would be in arms; and while the royal troops were employed against those states or in the Deccan, the Punjab or Delhi itself would be in revolt. A freak or favour to an individual would for a time remove the Hindu capitation tax; while, once in a century, a

\* It is a curious fact, that not only has the power of the Nizam, the kingdom of Oude, and all the Mahratta States risen within the last century, but that the families of the three bordering states, Burmah, Nepal, and Lahore, have been established within that period.

tyrannical Governor would be trodden under the feet of the imperial elephants. Seldom was the honest Minister or Governor (when such rare creatures appeared) rewarded, whilst the bold and the unprincipled amassed treasure, and bequeathed it to their children. Mark the fate of Akbar's great minister, Byram—the man to whom he owed his throne; whilst the Saadut Allys and Nizams have left kingdoms to their descendants. Our only wonder is, when reading the Moslem annals, that such men as Asoph Jah, and his father, and Mohabat Khan, should have lived (generally) prosperously, and died in their beds.

Utter selfishness was the Moslem motive: the high roads, the seracs, the plantations—were they for the people? Not at all, but for the royal progresses to Cashmere. The expense of one Badshahe serac would have built a dozen for the people. Throughout the country it was the same. In the direction the king was likely to travel, there would be roads and conveniences; but elsewhere the people might sigh in vain for paths, for water, or for shelter. The Newabs of Oude, and Kings of Juanpore and of the Deccan, did the same. They beautified the neighbourhood of their own favourite residences, made roads to their country-seats, built bridges over the rivers in their way, sunk splendid wells, and planted lines of trees. Some of our own magistrates, in the times of the good old close-borough system, did the same; and to this day European convenience is more regarded than native wants, the collector and magistrate being often considered more sacred than the thousands of poor around him.

Despotism—unchecked power, in whatever hands and in whatever quarter, produces the same fruit; and we would divest our minds of all clanish feeling in discussing its merits. Wars, and their train of ills, were not confined to the Mahoumedan times or states in India. A glance at the old Hindu annals will show, that if the country so suffered in Moslem times, it was not more free from such distractions in what are called the bright days of Hindu supremacy. Everywhere we see that the present occupants of the soil are not the aboriginals; and almost every district in India has its particular legend, how a Rajput, or other band, drove out or enslaved the original holders; while another tale will perhaps tell of how the late conquerors were themselves overwhelmed, and how they eventually merged into another and a bolder race. We doubt whether India was ever under an universal monarch; and the kings of the Hindu states of Oude, Kanouge, Muttra, Hustunapore (Delhi). &c &c. played but the game that warriors of

every age and every clime have ever played. They prospered or sank; they conquered, or were themselves led captive; and then, as in later days, independent kingdoms disappeared, and small states rose into great ones. Not content with the usual and tolerably sufficient grounds for war, we read that Prithora the brave, the hero of a hundred fights, amused himself with carrying off the brides of the several kings, of whose intended marriage he had information. He thus brought on himself many wars, and eventually thereby lost his throne; but he lost no credit, and is to this day the hero of Rajput romance. It would seem, indeed, to be mere idleness to write and talk of the happiness and purity of a people who deified the perpetrators of every crime, and whose very worship sanctioned every abomination. When we read of the hundreds of thousands that took the field with the Persian kings and with the Moguls, and consider that they had no commissariat, we may imagine the frightful famines that such armies themselves experienced, and the more frightful afflictions they caused to the countries through which they passed. Dow, in his preliminary dissertation to *Ferishta*, writes of bazaars, &c. in camp; but nowhere do we find that there were any regular establishments of the kind. Brinjaries (themselves plunderers of the worst description) carrying grain, followed the camp or did not, according to the individual genius and forethought of the monarch or general of the day; but when Dow goes on to tell us that each horseman received from sixty to two hundred rupees\* per month, we can understand the value of his several dissertations. We doubt whether, under any native ruler in any age, Hindustani horsemen received all their pay in cash; or if our present rate of twenty rupees per month to Irregular Horse was ever materially and continuedly exceeded. And whatever was paid was in assignments on distant lands, or in at least half grain and food as rations for man and beast, and the small balance only in cash. Dow goes on to say (page xviii. preface), that on such high pay the soldiery could afford to encourage the grain-dealers, &c., who flocked in from neighbouring towns and villages as armies advanced; but the traveller Bernier, with much more apparent truth, tells us that there were no towns worth mentioning between Delhi and Agra, and that the banks of the Jumna, above Delhi, being the line of the imperial progress towards Lahore and Cashmere, were extensive hunting-grounds; that the imperial cortège usually left the high-road, and sported through these Shikargahs, while the troops moved more directly forward.

\* Page xviii. Preface to Dow's *Hindustan*.



We know that everywhere in the east, the track of an army is marked by desolation—that villages and towns are abandoned even at the intelligence of a coming hostile force. In the south of India, as the historian Wilkes, tells us, such flights are called *wulza*, the people burying their valuables, and carrying with them a few days' grain—flying to the hills or the nearest fortress, and when the enemy remained longer than their supplies lasted, famine and death ensuing.

While we should all endeavour, abstaining from idle self-congratulations, to soften the rigour of the British yoke, it is only fair to our country to show that the English in India are not the monsters they are sometimes represented; and that although much remains to be done; many improvements to be made; many legislative enactments to be set forth, and *acted on*; much to be done, much to be *undone*—much for us to do, more for us to let alone; we have less to learn than is generally thought from either our Mahomedan or Hindu predecessors.

Lord Valentia fifty years ago travelled in a palankeen to Lucknow, and wrote a book, in which he stated that the Moguls had roads or causeways from one end of their dominions to the other. Mr. Buckingham, a quarter of a century afterwards declared, and in his time not untruly, that there was not a good road in India above Barrackpore—and still more recently we have heard a somewhat similar declaration made at a great public meeting in Calcutta. But let the period of our rule be counted, and let it be considered that it does not materially exceed the united length of the reigns of Aurungzebe and Akbar, and then let it be remembered that we have a trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi; a better road than the Moguls or the Romans ever had; and that not a district in India but has its branch roads, all doubtless more or less defective, wanting more or less bridges, ghats, seracs, wells, &c.; but still shewing that some attention is now being paid to the important subject. Let any impartial person visit the Punjab, where he will scarcely see such a vehicle as a hackery, or throughout the country alight upon a road; let him then travel to Oude, where his experiences will be similar, and then let him cross the Gogra and enter the Gorrauckpoor district, not half a century in our hands. At once he will find himself in a country abounding with good roads, many of them bridged—and every year the number of bridges and other improvements are increasing. In this one district alone we doubt whether there are less than a thousand miles of road. We say, let these comparisons be fairly made, and then let England be exempted from the vituperations and unfair comparisons with which she is sometimes assailed;

and rather let those who would so assail her, honestly do their own work; and however humble be an individual's sphere, no one of us but has the opportunity, if not of making a road, building a bridge, or a serai; at least of planting a tree, or of preserving one that is planted. But if even this small means is denied us, no poverty can prevent us from setting a good example to those around us, by shewing all that come within our influence, that a Christian is not to be recognised only by wearing a hat and coat, and by attending neither at the mosque nor the temple: but by purity of life and honesty of conduct.

But though compelled, in candour, to admit that without sword-government the British in India could not maintain their position, we feel strong in our hearts the conviction that one good magistrate may be better than a regiment: one sound law, well administered, better than a brigade; that civilians must co-operate with the military; that neither unaided could maintain our empire, but that a happy admixture of a just civil administration with the strong hand will retain the country in peace and happiness as long as it is good that we should hold it; and it is not by believing either ourselves or our laws all purity, or all corruption, that we are likely to come to a right understanding of what is best for India, but by a close study of its past history; of the mistakes, and the injustice of former rules, Hindu, Mahommedan and European; and then by setting ourselves down, each in his own sphere, and honestly working out the details of a code, honestly and ably prepared; not shifting and changing from day to day, but founded on experience; and suitable to a rude and simple people, who, like all people under the sun, prefer justice to law, and the speedy attainment of their ends to eternal dangleing about the precincts of dilatory courts.

But it behoves us, under every view of the case, to keep up our strength. Debility, the result of apathy and negligence, would be nothing short of a state of crime. There are few national, as there are few bodily ailments, which have not their seat in debility; and any very apparent symptoms of weakness in the dominant power would, under the present combination of circumstances, plunge the country into a state of terrible disorder, and gird about with desolation every province in Hindostan.

Let us see then what is our military strength—what are our means of national defence. Glance at the map,\* and see the

\* We may avail ourselves of this opportunity strongly to recommend the map which we have named at the head of this article. It is distinguished by accuracy of detail and great topographical excellence, and is, on the whole, the best and most convenient of all the maps of India which have been published.

enormous expanse which the Indian Army is employed to protect—from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej; from Kurachee to the Gulf of Martaban—a tract of country containing, according to the calculations of the Surveyor-General's department, a gross area of 1,076,590 square miles, to which must be added some 25,000 on account of our recent acquisitions on the banks of the Indus. Our army has not only to protect from foreign aggression this immense territory; but also to coerce a population of not less than a hundred millions—many of them men of strong military, and others of stronger predatory habits—twenty millions of them Mussulmans—all feeling that they are under the yoke of the stranger. And however lightly that yoke be imposed, we must know that, differing in colour, caste, language, habits—everything; having, indeed, nothing in common with our subjects, our rule can scarcely be a loved one. It has been declared, in prophetic language, that “Japhet shall live in the tents of Shem;” but may we not attach to the figure more of a military than of a pastoral character?

But what is this Indian army, called upon thus to defend this wide expanse of conquered territory? It consists of 159 regiments of Regular Infantry; 21 of Cavalry; 5 brigades of Horse Artillery; 14 battalions of Foot Artillery; and 3 regiments of Sappers and Miners. To these must be added about 40 Irregular corps of Cavalry and Infantry, officered from the line, to the extent of a commandant, a second-in-command, and an adjutant—the commanders of troops and companies being Russaldars and Soobadars. In round numbers, we may say that our Indian army is somewhat very near the following:—

Regular Infantry (European) .....	5,600	
——— (Native) .....	184,000	
Cavalry (Native) .....	10,200	
Artillery (European) .....	5,600	} exclusive of Maseurs.
——— (Native) .....	4,600	
Sappers and Miners (Native) ..	2,500	
Irregular corps* .....	30,000	
Total ..		242,500

To these regiments are attached, according to the latest Army Lists of the several Presidencies, 5850 European officers. Such, with some approach to accuracy, for perfect accuracy is

\* This rough estimate does not include all the several components of the Nizam's force, the Gwalior Contingent, and the Police Battalions.

not easily attainable, is the extent of the Indian army. By this we must be understood to signify only the troops of the East India Company—but in calculating our means of national defence we must consider, in addition to these forces, the very important item of some 20 or 30 regiments of European Infantry and Cavalry, belonging to the army of Great Britain. The number of regiments thus employed in India varies according to the exigency of the times; at present there are in the three Presidencies, under the Company's rule, 29 regiments of Cavalry and of Infantry, detached from the army of the Crown.

But the strength of an army does not depend upon its numbers, but on its efficiency: and the matter now to be considered is, the means of turning the troops at our disposal to the best possible account. Let us show, after some rough fashion of our own—suggesting rather than elaborating—how this is to be done.

Our Engineer Corps can scarcely be so called. It is a regiment of officers, perhaps not surpassed in ability by any equal number of officers in the world; but they are too much employed as Civil Engineers; too little engaged during peace in the functions that would best prepare them for war; and still less so their few subordinates. Barrack-building and repairing, and account-keeping, are not the best preparatives for a campaign; and we know no inducement that the sappers (all natives, except four serjeants to each company), have for exertion, for the enlargement of their minds, or the study of engineering. The trigonometrical survey of Ireland was almost entirely conducted by the Royal Sappers; Non-Commissioned officers and privates doing all parts of the work. An engineer officer used the Theodolite, but it was as often used by common sappers, as was the microscope on the base operations; and much of the mapping was done by them. We do not mean to say that every sapper was a Colby or an Everest; but that many, nay the majority, could read, and use all the instruments, and understood the construction of maps. Why should it not be so with us? and why should not at least every serjeant and every native Non-Commissioned officer in our sappers be able to do as much? Our trigonometrical and our revenue surveys shew how easily natives are to be taught surveying, and if looked after how well they can survey. Why then should not our sappers be employed on the surveys, on the canals, on the roads, not as coolies but as *workmen*, until qualified as supervisors; and then, as such, in positions graduated to their conduct and abilities? A company or more could be employed in the same neighbourhood, so that at a day's notice, they could

be ready for field service—how much more easily when already in the field, than when summoned from Delhi; and how much better qualified would officers and men be for any duties that they might be called on to perform, than as now when coming from perfect idleness or from mere bricklayer's work. Not that these labours in the Barrack-master's department are without their uses; or that we object to sapper companies taking their turn in cantonments; but we do contend that field-work, surveys, laying-out of canals and roads, especially in hilly countries, draining of lands and so forth, are the employments to call out the powers of engineers, and to habituate them to do readily and quickly what, on vital occasions, may be required of them in the field. Every engineer should not only be able to make an accurate map, but should be also accustomed to rapid sketching, and practised to take in the features of a country; so that at a glance he can comprehend the strong and weak points of position, the distances of points and their bearings on the one he occupies, or that the army is to take up. His subordinates of every grade should be qualified for some work or other, beyond that of the shovel, and while none should be ashamed to employ himself in throwing up the trench or the battery, many should be able to trace them out and superintend their construction.\*

We would double, nay treble or quadruple, the sappers, and we would attach every engineer officer to them: not simply as at present a captain and a few of the youngest subalterns. We should then, with the instruction and employment above suggested, have a most valuable staff corps; most useful in peace, invaluable in war: and when we think how little is yet known of India, how few the roads that are passable throughout the year; that are laid out on scientific principles, or kept in order on any plan; how few the canals; and how much those in use pay in revenue, as well as what a blessing they are to the lands through which they pass—when we consider what is wanted for the commerce and for the military purposes of the country, in roads and bridges, we shall find profitable work for many corps of sappers. In short we may make their peace employments as useful to the Government and to the country as to themselves.

While on this subject, we may incidentally observe that two years ago Lord Ellenborough promised us a military road from

\* We need not point out to those who have much *worked* with natives, how peculiarly their talents fit them for all such duties as we have mentioned: the trace of the road from Serinuggur (in Gurlwal) to Kedarnath marked out by a native under Mr. Traill's eye would do credit to any engineer; and it is our opinion that if their moral qualifications were equal to their intellectual, there are native élèves of the trigonometrical survey fully competent to complete the work.

Simla to Mussourie; and the result has been that a single engineer officer took a glance at the line, and no more has been heard of the project. A road such as was projected would possibly have been impracticable—that is, its expense would have far exceeded its advantages; but still there is no possible reason why there should not be a military road from Kumaon to the Sutlej, passable for guns on mules and elephants—why the intervening streams should not be bridged, instead of, as at present, that the only good bridge nominally, on the line (that over the Jumna), should be really not on the line at all, but several miles off—so placed as we are credibly informed, because the bank at that place offered a better abutment. When we have good roads through and up to our Hills, we shall find the value of them for our European soldiery—but on this subject we shall presently enlarge.

Our artillery officers receive much the same education as the engineers; though their course of study is a less extensive one. They receive, however, sufficient preparation in England to enable them at Dum Dum to become excellent artillerymen, which many of them are; and we owe it to their early education, and perhaps to their having no loaves ready baked for them—to their being obliged to work their own way to anything beyond a subaltern's berth with a company for eighteen years, and then the command of a foot battery, that we see more names among the artillery as Persian and Hindustani scholars than in any other branch of the service.

The men are, as material—as machines, excellent; but few are much more. Some few good laboratory men are to be found among them—perhaps three or four in a company. Thirty or forty per cent. can read and write; but not one in a hundred studies his duty scientifically; and the obvious reason is that he has not the shadow of a motive for so doing. If he can read and write and is decently sober, he is sure to become a serjeant. If he is smart at drill and well behaved, and not too independent, he may rise to be a serjeant-major. Or if his liver is sound, he may live to be a conductor, or even, at the age of seventy, a deputy-commissary of ordnance. And so in the Gohindanze; if he has taken care of himself and not expended his vital energies as a young man, he will live to be an old one; and when physically and mentally disqualified, he will become a soobadar, or even a soobadar bahadoor; and all this even though he may be very little deserving of such promotion. He has the negative merit of having outlived the companions of his youth, who possibly got maimed, or killed, or lost their health, when he who gained the palm was absent from his post or

shirking at it ; but we are strongly of opinion that old age is *but* a negative virtue, and should not, without positive merit, be rewarded in soldiers ; but that the young man should have some motive to emulate the veteran.

There is little objectionable in the artillery system, except its locations, its system of patronage, and its utter sacrifice of the interests and usefulness of the foot artillery to those of the mounted branch. Native artillery are stationed at Almorah in the hills ; they dislike it, and are out of their element there. They should be replaced by Europeans. Large bodies of Golundauze should not be kept at Dum Dum and at Cawnpore, serving as Infantry, without guns and without officers.—*At least* half the European artillery should be located in hill stations ; and the weakly and sick men of the other half should be with them. Cherra-Poonjee, Dargeling, Kumaon, Mussourie, Sobathoo, Kussoulic, and the immediate neighbourhood of those places would amply accommodate them all.

To each company of Golundauze should be attached three European serjeants and three corporals ; and to every company, European and native, there should not be less than two officers when in cantonments, and three in the field. At present, while a single troop of Horse Artillery has three or four officers, and they remain with it for years, a company is lucky if it possesses one ; and that one is sometimes changed two or three times within a year. We have often and often seen lads of a year's or two years' standing, going on service with two or four guns, and even with a company. Indeed the exception to the rule is, when a company of artillery proceeds on service under a captain, and then the chances are ten to one that he has been taken from the staff, or suddenly drawn from another end of the country to command men, on perhaps an emergency, that he never saw before ; to take charge of stores and guns that he has not a day to inspect ; and where, as a stranger, he knows not the good from the bad men, and has not only to do his own duty, but to be the laboratory man and everything else for a time himself. The consequence of all this is, that our Foot Artillery is not at all what it might be, and that the Foot Artillery officers, though harder worked and worse paid, are often better artillerists, more practical, rough-and-ready men than their Horse Artillery brethren. But the reward they look to, for making a bad company a good one, for redeeming drunkards into respectability, slovens into smart soldiers, is to be removed from the company into a troop ; and to throw back the poor fellows who have learned to appreciate their exertions, to the tender mercies of an old officer who cares not for them,

or to a young hand who is learning his own duty, and each of whom will possibly have gone his way before the year has expired. Such a system is cruel in the extreme to the men themselves, and most injurious to the service.\* The men, as material, are much the same in both branches; the officers are the same; but whether it be the Golundauze and the Native Horse Artillery, or the European Horse and Foot Artillery, there is a woeful difference between the two branches, entirely owing to the different footing on which the two are placed, the standing they occupy, and the way they are officered. It is a dogma, very staunchly upheld by some Horse Artillery officers—generally not the wisest of them—that their branch should be a close borough. We have heard some captains, who spent most of their subaltern days in the Foot, forgetful of this fact, uphold the absurdity. We, as dispassionate observers, always thought that if the Horse Artillery were to be a matter of patronage and profit, it should be given to the best artillery officers—to those who were best acquainted with, and best performed their duty; who could ride, who could see, and who could hear. But too frequently we have seen all these requisites neglected, and very bad officers appointed, simply through local interest; and as this is likely to continue the case as long as man is man, we should be glad to see the Foot Artillery on a full equality with the Horse, as to all emoluments, equipment, and officering. It would be materially to the benefit of the service, and to the advantage of the artillery regiment at large. All artillery officers should have Horse allowance and Cavalry pay, after they have joined batteries, and as long as present with them. All batteries should be horsed; the additional expense to be covered by reducing two guns from each of the Horse Artillery troops. Three 6-pounders and a 12-pounder howitzer well horsed—as at present—a double set of horses, all picked ones, no roasters and man-eaters to stop the team and vitiate the powers of the other five, but all steady first-rate cattle, accustomed to work with cavalry on all sorts of ground; with every horse willing to work either as leader or in the shafts. Such batteries on the out-rider system would, on a long campaign, tell more effectually than the six guns under the present

\* We cannot too strenuously insist on this point. We have known companies of Foot Artillery to be, in the course of three or four months, commanded by as many officers. We have known subalterns to command one after the other—or perhaps two at a time—all the four companies of a battalion within six months; and we have known a battalion to be so destitute of officers, that the four (now five) companies have fallen to the command of the adjutant. It is impossible that, under such a system, the officers can take any interest in their men; or that the men should place any confidence in their officers, who necessarily trust every thing—even the promotions—to the pay-sergeant, who really commands the company.



system ; and it is not the least merit of the plan we propose, that it would put at the head of troops the young and active captains, or at least men, who did not seek such commands simply for the extra pay.

Our Foot Artillery batteries would then be on their proper footing ; they would be well horsed, with slow but stout cattle ; they would be as well officered as the Horse Artillery ; the officers would have no motive for change, and their men would soon feel and appreciate the difference, and be as smart and efficient as are now their mounted brethren. Our 9-pounder batteries, instead of, as at present, being considered incumbrances, would always be put in action with the Infantry ; and would perform all the service they are capable of, but which they are now seldom permitted to do. It is at any rate a sheer waste of money, to keep the whole Foot Artillery of India inefficient ; it is waste of *money* now, we say ; for we look on two well-equipped guns as more to the purpose than six ill found ones. But what is waste and folly now may, if not rectified, cost life and treasure hereafter ; nay, may cost us India ; and most absurd does it seem that the one arm which our enemies all dread ; which alone, from the days of Hyder Ally to those of Akbar Khan, they all acknowledge they cannot match—the arm which our own sepoys look to and rely on—is the one we most neglect ; the one that is, in fact, left to Providence. We could point out innumerable instances ; we will satisfy ourselves with one—the state of the single battery at Ferozepore, when the Cabul outbreak took place. For the two previous years we all know how many reports there had been of Sikh inroads and invasions ; and yet, in November 1841, when half that battery was ordered to Peshawur, it had to borrow bullocks from the commissariat, and was sent under an officer not three years in the service. The battery was then under one of its many transitions ; it had twice had horses and once camels, and we believe twice bullocks within two years ; and, of course, when wanted for the field, had no cattle at all ; and the young officer who went with the detachment had not joined the company a month. The sooner such matters are mended the better : we should at least know by this time whether camels, bullocks, elephants, or horses, are best for draught ; and at any rate, if experiments are to be tried, our exposed frontier stations are not the ones to dismantle, while the periodical mutations are in progress.\*

\* We are glad to hear that a mountain train is again likely to be equipped, and should be glad to see an elephant battery of six pounders added to a strong one of three, all placed with a couple of companies of Europeans at a hill station.

We are amused to hear that it has been determined to add a captain to each Infantry regiment, but not to the Cavalry. If any branches of the service require officers, and good ones, they are the native cavalry and native artillery. Either is almost useless without officers; and yet the latter has only half the number that the European branch has; whilst the former is not thought to require as many as the infantry. Had we our will, there should be, in addition to a full complement of officers, half a dozen or more Europeans in every troop of native cavalry; say three serjeants and three corporals; men promoted for smartness and gallantry from the Dragoons and Horse Artillery. Such men, with two officers to every troop, would bring up a cavalry corps to the charge in the style in which it should be done. We should have no pausing to count the enemy; nor would the few European officers have to be casting in their minds whether their men would follow them; nor when the critical moment came would they have a doubt that, wherever they led, the corps would be at their heels.

But our infantry must ever be our main stay; if it is indifferent, the utmost efficiency in other branches will little avail. We are inclined to advocate the presence of two European officers with each company of every regular sepoy corps; but we would divide the native infantry into three classes, have a fourth of the army on the footing of the Khelat-i-giljee corps, and say an eighth forming a third class somewhat similar to the Khelat-i-giljees and the several contingents, but the officers commanding companies being solely natives; and from them should be selected commandants, seconds in command, and adjutants, for the corps formed and commanded by natives, one of which should be in every brigade to cause emulation and prevent suspicion, and by a mixture of interests interfere with combinations. We will presently offer a scheme for doing away with native officers in the regular corps, but would desire that all promotions to command of companies in the corps of the second and third class should be made from the infantry at large.

Native officers have long since been voted useless. They are great encumbrances in war; they are nonentities in peace. Occasionally a lion-hearted old fellow of seventy will keep up with his company on a charge or on a forced march; but he forthwith dies of exhaustion, after having, perhaps for a year or more during the campaign, put the commissariat to the expense of carrying grain for him, three or four servants, a pony, and half or a whole camel. In quarters they have nothing to do but to brood over their positions; to feel that they are nominally

officers, and yet that the serjeant-major is liable to command them, and that beardless boys are every day put over them. At Vellore and elsewhere they did not prevent or give warning of intended massacre and insurrection; nor have they, in the late cases of the 60th, 34th, 64th, and of the cavalry and artillery, either given a clue to their officers of what was the real motive of discontent, or do they appear to have striven to prevent insubordination.

We conceive that the motive of Government in having three native officers attached to each company and troop, who have nothing to do, and whose ages may be said to average sixty-two, must be their supposed moral influence with the sepoys, and the encouragement given to the latter by placing before their eyes their kinsmen promoted to such grades, and living comfortably and in honour among them. If such be the reason, how much more potent would this moral influence be, if the old men were comfortably seated under their own neem or mangoe trees, talking to their grandchildren and to the wondering villagers gathered around them, of the beneficence of the Honourable Company—instead of toiling in the hot winds on treasure parties, or vexing themselves under young European officers in petty and discomfiting duties unsuitable to their age, in which, though they are present in person, they can scarcely be called performers.

We would fain see every soldier, European and Native, and every native officer, appear before a Committee at fifty years of age, and be at once sent to the invalids, or remanded for five years' further duty, according to his health, after which time—that is at latest after fifty-five years of age—no man should be allowed to remain with a regiment. European officers are less exposed than their men; the waste of vital energy is not so great—but we are not sure that our commissioned ranks might not benefit by some such weeding.

Allahabad, Chunar, and other fortresses, as well as all treasuries and magazines—both of which should *invariably* be within forts, or redoubts of some kind or other—should be garrisoned by invalids, supported by small detachments of regulars for night and exposed duties. Invalids should be sent to their homes at sixty years of age *at latest*; or, as at present, earlier periods, when disabled by sickness or wounds.

No sepoy, not considered qualified to rise to be a Soobadar, should be promoted beyond the rank of Naick. Havildars should be promoted in their turn to the rank of Jemadar, and if considered unfit for the active duties of a lieutenant (Jemadar) of a company or troop, to be transferred to the garrison

or Home Invalids, according to age and strength. Jemadars should rise by seniority to the rank of Soobadar; but no native officer should be promoted to second in command, but for distinguished conduct. Seconds should rise to commandants by seniority, subject of course to proof of continued good conduct. The Adjutants of these native corps might be promoted at once from the rank of Naick and Havildar; and as Jemadars rise in their turn to command, naicks being steady soldiers, but passed over as not being sufficiently smart for native officers, might be invalidated (when worn out or beyond age) as Havildars.

The Garrison Invalid corps should in all respects be paid as troops of the Line; the home invalids as at present; and all ranks and orders should understand that rates of pay will not be altered, that invalids will not be remanded (as has been the case) to Regimental duty; and the rates of pay, rations, foreign allowance, &c. &c. should be as distinctly and fully laid down as possible; so that no excuse could be given for error or miscalculation on the subject.

We should then have three descriptions of Native Infantry; the first class, regular infantry, officered by a full complement of Europeans; the second class, partially so officered; the third class, commanded and officered entirely by natives—but the two last always employed in brigade or at least in concert with the regular corps.

The native officers would then have definite duties and not be too old to perform them. The old and worn-out veterans would be comfortably located in quarters, or enjoying themselves quietly at home. There would be less clashing of interests, more contentment, and greater efficiency at perhaps a less expense than at present; for a much less number than seventy regular Infantry Regiments would suffice for Bengal, if we were to establish an increased number of such as form the Gwalior Contingent; supported again by a few commanded by such soldiers as old Mahommed Issoof.\* Let us not be met with an outcry about the attendant decrease of European officers. We know their value very well; but we know that there are many bad as well as many good ones; and we know that although, where sepoys have been taught to follow only Europeans, there should always be enough of the latter to ensure vacancies being filled up in action, as leaders fall; yet where

\* The reader of Indian history will remember the commandant of the English sepoys, the famous Mahommed Issoof, who in the worst times of the Carnatic wars under Lawrence, was the only person who could safely conduct our convoys through the enemy's country. We recommend his history, as narrated by Wilkes, to our readers, and especially the detail (page 326, vol. i.) of the effect of injurious treatment and unjust suspicions on the conduct of this fine old native soldier.

men have not been so habituated, we see not why our sepoys should not be permitted to use the senses and the courage they possess, without on every occasion relying on the leading and the life of an individual. Shah Soojah's Regiments behaved admirably in Affghanistan; and the discipline of Capt. Mitchell's Regiment of the old Gwalior contingent was the admiration of beholders. Clive's, Lawrence's, and Coote's battalions had seldom with them more than three or four officers; and yet the deeds of those days are not surpassed by those of the present.

Our regular issue of pay and our pension establishment are the foundation-stones of our rule; and there cannot be a doubt that for the lower orders our service is a splendid one. But it offers no inducement to superior intellects, or more stirring spirits. Men so endowed, knowing they can always gain their bread in any quarter, leave us in disgust and rise to rank in foreign services. Did the times avail, they would raise standards of their own; and turn against us the discipline they learnt in our ranks. Rank and competence in our service would bind such men to our interests. It is a straw that turns the current. Such men as Nadir Shah and Hyder Ally did not at the outside aim at sovereignty; their ambition increased with their success, and what early in life would have contented them was at a later day despised.

There are many commandants in the Mahrattah and Seikh service who were privates in our Army. General Dhokul Singh, now at Lahore, was a Drill Naiek in one of our sepoy corps; and Rajah Buktawar Singh, one of the richest and most powerful men in Oude, was a Havildar in our Cavalry. But is it not absurd that the rank of Soobadar and Russaldar Major is the highest that a native can attain in a native army of nearly three hundred thousand men, in a land too that above all others has been accustomed to see military merit rewarded, and to witness the successive rise of families from the lowest conditions, owing to gallantry in the field?

There is always danger in handling edge tools, but justice and liberality forge a stronger chain than suspicious and niggardly policy. We hold that no place or office should be absolutely barred to the native soldier, although the promotion of every individual should be grounded on his individual merits, and the requisite caution be taken that he should not be tempted beyond his strength. The grandsons of the Gauls who opposed Cæsar were senators of Rome; and the Jye Singhs and Jeswunt Singhs led the Mogul armies—but it cannot be said that it was to any such liberality the empire of either Rome or Delhi owed its fall.

Whenever Sepoys and Europeans know and understand each other, the utmost harmony exists between them; witness the 35th B. N. I. and H. M. 13th at Julalabad, and we remember many such cases of old. Indeed it was only the other day that we heard a Sepoy of the 26th N. I. say, "if we go on service, send with us Number nine" (H. M. 9th, with which they were Brigaded in Affganistau). Such a spirit should be encouraged, and it would be well to attach permanently to each European Regiment, while in India, a couple of companies or more of picked men, chiefly Mussulmans, and the lower tribes of military Hindus—these companies to act as the Auxiliaries and Velites did with the Romans. Let them be Light Infantry, and as picked and honoured troops receive some additional pay. We know that Europeans cannot march in India without a detachment of natives accompanying them, and that such duty, as at present performed, is much disliked. But placed on some such footing as above proposed, the service might be made a duty of honour, and the sepoy of such companies, working well with Europeans, would be almost equal in value to the latter. The system has been found to work well with the gun lascars attached to the European Artillery, even though they have not been cared for and made much of, as we would propose all natives so employed should be.

And now a few words on the subject of enlistment.—Our sepoy come too much from the same parts of the country; Oude, the lower Doob and upper Behar. There is too much of clanship among them, and the evil should be remedied by enlisting in the Saharunpoor and Delhi districts, in the hill regions, and in the Malay and Burmah states. We laugh at our hill men, but they are much the same class as form Rajah Golab Singh's formidable Jumboos. But what inducement do we offer to any but coolies to enter into the Simoor or Nussuree battalions, when we give the men only five rupees per month, proportionably pay Native officers, and calling the corps local battalions, post them one day at Bhurtpoor, the next at Ferozepoor? Such policy is very bad; and we should rather encourage the military classes in the hills to enter all our corps. We would have, too, some Companies or Regiments of Malays; of China-men; of Mhugs and Burmese; and mix them up at large stations with our sepoy corps. We would go further, and would encourage the now despised Eurasians to enter our ranks, either into sepoy corps, where one or two here and there would be useful, or as detached companies or corps. We are aware that they are not considered a warlike race. We might make them so, and we

doubt not, with good officers, could do so. Courage goes much by opinion; and many a man behaves as a hero or a coward, according as he considers he is expected to behave. Once two Roman Legions held Britain; now as many Britons might hold Italy.

There is no doubt that whatever danger may threaten us in India, the greatest is from our own troops. We should, therefore, while giving no cause of discontent; while paying them well and regularly providing for them in their old age; while opening a wide field for legitimate ambition; and rewarding, with promotion, medals, jagheers, gallantry and devotion; abstain from indiscriminately heaping such rewards upon men undeserving of them; and we should at all times carefully avoid giving any thing or doing any thing, under an appearance of coercion, on the demands of the soldiery. The corps that under General Pollock misbehaved at Peshawur, should at least have been denied medals. Had they been so, possibly we should have been spared late events on the N. W. Frontier and in Scinde; and we should remember that every officer is not fitted for command, much less to command soldiers of a different religion and country; and that where, as has repeatedly of late years been shown, regiments were found to be going wrong through the weakness or the tyranny of their commanders—it matters not whether from too much strictness or too little—full inquiry should at once be made and remedial measures instituted. If commanders cannot manage their regiments they should be removed from them, and that quickly, before their corps are irremediably destroyed. How much better would it be to pension, and to send to England such men as we have in command of some corps, than to allow them to remain a day at the head of a regiment to set a bad example to their men. We could, at this moment, point out more than one commander answering our description; and we would seriously call the attention of those in high places to the injury that even one such officer may commit. He may drive a thousand men into discontent and that thousand may corrupt many thousands—and all this may be done by a man without any positive evil in him; but simply because he is not a soldier, has not the feelings of a soldier; frets the men one day, neglects them the next; and is known by them all to care for nothing beyond his personal interests and his own hisab-kitab.

Before leaving this subject of the Native Army, we must devote a few sentences to one of its most important components, of which we have made no specific mention.—The Irregular Cavalry is a most useful branch of the service,

doubly so as providing for military classes that do not fancy our regular service. But we much doubt whether we adopt the best method of keeping up the efficiency of the Irregulars, which are our light horse; but which we encumber as we do all other branches with officers and even privates of sixty and even seventy years of age. We are not sure that we could not point out many native officers very much above seventy; and we once heard a commandant of one of these corps say his old men were his smartest—no great compliment to the quality of his young ones. But the fact is, that the purwustee system is more injuriously employed in the Irregular Horse than in any other branch of the army; though generally from kind and good motives. In times of peace these corps are little thought of, have nothing to do, are on small outpost duty, or, where collected are entirely under their Commander's authority and eye; but in service they are cruelly and often recklessly knocked about and exposed; no one has pity on them, and their own officers have therefore need the more to care for them. Mostly Patans or Rajpoots and Mahomedans of family, they are men of expensive habits, are almost all involved, and, from a system that has gradually crept in, they do not (generally) receive the pay allowed them by Government; that is to say, every man entering, in (we believe) seven out of the nine corps, has not only to purchase his horse and equipments, but to pay one hundred and fifty Rupees or thereabouts to the estate or family of the man whose decease or invaliding created the vacancy. Such donation of course throws the recruit at once into the money-lender's hands, and often leaves him for life a debtor. If the man again has not the cash to purchase a horse, he rides one belonging to a Native officer or to some privileged person, and becomes what is called his bargeer—the soldier receiving only seven or eight rupees a month, and the owner of the horse the balance of the twenty allowed by Government.

There is much in all this, and in the Kutchery and Banking system, prevalent in almost every corps (and without which, so deep-rooted is the evil, few irregular Regiments could now take the field) that requires gradual amendment, for while Government pays twenty rupees a month to each man, it is calculated, one with another, that the men do not receive above sixteen; and consequently, as far as efficiency is concerned, they are as if they received only that much pay; and when called on for service, instead of having a stock to draw on to render them efficient, they have to call on their banker; and enter more deeply into his books.



We have heard officers say that but for these bankers they did not know how they could have taken their corps on service ; and we know how much trouble, vexation, and expense, has often been incurred by commanders, to render their Regiments efficient. But whatever be the motive—and we believe that in the Irregular Horse it is a very good one—that makes close boroughs of corps, bringing into them only the sons and nephews of those already enlisted, when better men are candidates, the result is bad : and it is worse still, that such fines should be paid at starting as tend to shackle the troopers for life. So great is the evil, that we consider that Government would do well to redeem all debts as they now stand, and forbid the system for the future ; and peremptorily order the service to be thrown open to candidates out of the several Regiments, being men of respectability and bringing their own horses, or able to purchase that of the man who created the vacancy. The fine we have mentioned is in some corps put on the price of the horse, so that the recruit, instead of one hundred and twenty-five rupees, has to pay two hundred and seventy for his charger.

The consequence of all this is that we have not the horses, and often not the men in the Irregular Cavalry, that we might have for the twenty rupees per month paid by Government. It is only justice to the Irregulars to say that it is wonderful what they have done on service, in spite of their old men and their small poor horses ; but having done well with little means, they would assuredly do better under a more encouraging system. The Poona Horse, we understand, receive thirty rupees per month, and they are a most efficient body. The matter of pay and equipment of the Irregulars requires serious attention ; bad Cavalry are worth little, and we would prefer five regiments of first-rate, to ten of indifferent quality.

As our army is constituted, the Irregular Horse is the only outlet for the Native gentry. Every day it becomes less so, while recruiting is restricted to dependants of those already in the service. Lord Ellenborough's project of adding a portion of Irregulars, on increased pay, to the Body-guard, was a wise measure ; and we should be glad to see still further encouragement held out to gallantry and devotion. A Rassalah in each regiment might be formed from men who had distinguished themselves, each man of such troop receiving four or five rupees additional monthly pay. We would also give the command of half the Irregular corps to Native officers ; such commanders, with their seconds and adjutants, to be selected for gallantry and good conduct ; two Brigades, each of two

such corps, might be formed in the Bengal presidency; one stationed at Umbala, the other at Cawnpore; to be commanded by a Brigadier under the Native title of Bukshee, with a Brigade-Major under the designation of Naib—these two (European) Officers not interfering in regimental details, further than paying the men and sanctioning promotions—the Bukshees and Naibs to be officers selected from present commandants. The system, we are convinced, would work well, as giving objects of ambition to the more adventurous spirits. And having two good European officers with them, there would always be a check on the conduct of the Native commanders, who, we believe, would feel pride in keeping their corps in as efficient a state as those commanded by European officers.

But after all, what could we do without the European portion of the army—useless of course by itself, but without which all else would soon pass from our hands. And yet how do we repay the gallant hearts that daily bleed for us—that daily sink and expire in a foreign land, uncared for and unpitied. We chiefly allude to the Company's European troops, but much will apply to her Majesty's. How little is done, or at least how much more might be done, for the comfort and happiness of the men, and by the saving of their lives, for the pockets of Government.

In the first place, we consider that Fort William is about the worst station in India for Europeans, especially for new comers. We would therefore see H. M. Regiments at once proceed up the country; and throughout India would have the Europeans, as far as possible, on the hills, not keeping a man more than absolutely necessary on the plains. Three-fourths of the European Infantry and Foot Artillery, and one-half of the Dragoons and Horse Artillery, might easily be established on the hills; and of the corps at Fort William, Madras, and Bombay, all the weakly men should be at Cherrah Poonjee or Darjeeling, or at the Sanatoria of the other Presidencies. Nature has given us chains of hills in all directions, not only east and west, but through Central India, that would enable us to have moderately cool stations in every quarter; and when the expense in life and in death of Europeans, on the present system, is considered—when it is remembered that every recruit costs the Government one thousand rupees, or 100*l.*—that barracks, with tatties, and establishments, and hospitals, must be kept up at great expense—and that, with all appliances, the life of an European is most miserable,—how clear it is that we should alter the old system, and, following the laws of nature, avail

ourselves of the means and localities at our disposal, that enable us, at a much less expense, to keep up our Europeans in double their present efficiency in the hills; entailing, it is true, a certain first outlay, but which would be soon covered by the saving of life, and the reduction in establishments, rations, &c. If Lord Ellenborough had done nothing else in India, he would deserve well of his country for establishing three European stations on the hills. Three more may easily be so placed on the Bengal Presidency, and the proportion of Artillery and Cavalry we have mentioned be posted there. But we must have good roads, and ample means of conveyance, on all the routes and rivers leading to such locations; we must have a certain proportion of carriage kept up, and have our rivers covered with boats, and among them many steamers.

We would advocate the employment, or permission to employ themselves, of half the Europeans on the hills as handicrafts, in agriculture, trade, &c. A large proportion of the household troops are so employed in London, and yet the Guards of England have never been found wanting. Rations, establishments, and barracks in half quantities would thus only be required; and perhaps a portion of the pay of men so employed would in time be saved. Small grants of land, too, might be given on the hills, or in the Dhoon, to European invalids of good character, on terms of military service within a certain distance; or on terms of supplying a recruit, for seven or ten years, to a European corps.

Three-fourths of the European children who now die in the barracks on the plains, would live on the hills, and would recruit our corps with stout healthy lads, such as may be seen in Mr. Mackinnon's school at Mussourie, instead of the poor miserable parboiled creatures that we see as drummer-boys throughout the service.

The Chunar establishment bodily moved to the Mussourie neighbourhood, would be an incalculable benefit and blessing. Indeed, it is marvellous that the cruelty of such a location as Chunar for European invalids has not been oftener brought to notice, and that the hottest rock in India has been permitted to continue to this day as a station for European invalids.

All that we have mentioned is not only feasible, but easy; and we doubt not that all the expense which would be incurred by the change of locations, and abandonment of barracks, would be cleared by the several savings within seven years. We must walk before we can run; and we therefore only advocate roads—*metalled* roads—to each hill station; but we hope and expect soon to see railroads established on each line, so

that in twelve hours the corps from Kussowlee, Sobathoo, and Mussourie could be concentrated at Delhi. Great as would be the first outlay on such rails, we are well satisfied that they would pay; and who can calculate the benefit of being at once able to keep our Europeans in a good climate, and, at the rate of twenty or thirty miles an hour, to bring them to bear upon any point. We should then realise Hyder Ally's notion, and really keep our Europeans in cages, ready to let slip on occasions of necessity.

Every inducement should be held out to our European soldiers to conduct themselves as respectable men and good Christians. Reading-rooms and books in abundance should be provided; all sorts of harmless games encouraged; the children of all on the plains be sent to the hills, and placed in large training establishments, where boys and girls might (separately) be instructed in what would make them useful and respectable in their sphere of life, and be taught from the beginning to stir themselves like Europeans, and not with the listlessness (as is usual, in the barracks) of Asiatics.

We cannot write too emphatically on this most important branch of our subject. The morality of our European army in India is a matter which should engage the anxious attention not only of the military inquirer, but of every Christian man—every friend of humanity in the country. It is not simply a question of the means of making good soldiers; but of the means of making good men, and *therefore* good soldiers. We do not judge the European soldier harshly, when we say that the average standard of barrack morality is very low, for we cheerfully admit, at the same time, that the temptations to excess are great—the inducements to good conduct small—the checks wholly insufficient. It would be a wonder of wonders if, neglected as he is, the European soldier were to occupy a higher place in the scale of Christian morality; but whatever he may have to answer for, it is almost beyond denial that the responsibilities of the officer are far greater than his own. The soldier's sins of commission are not so heavy as the officer's sins of omission, from which they are the direct emanations. The moral character of a regiment, be it good or bad, fairly reflects the amount of interest taken by the officers in the well-being of their men. The soldier wanders out of garrison or cantonment and commits excesses abroad, because he has no inducements to remain within the precincts of the barrack square. He goes abroad in search of amusement, and he finds not amusement but excitement: he makes his way to the village toddy-shop, or to the punch-house: he seeks other haunts

of vice ; and when both money and credit are gone, perhaps he takes to the high-road. This would not happen if regimental officers really did their duty to their men.\* It is not merely the duty of an officer to attend parade, to manœuvre a company or regiment, to mount guard, to sanction promotions, to see the pay issued, to sign monthly returns, and to wear a coat with a standing collar. The officer has higher duties to perform—a duty to his sovereign, a duty to his neighbour, a duty to his God—not to be discharged by the simple observance of these military formalities. He stands *in loco parentis*: he is the father of his men ; his treatment of them should be such as to call forth their reverence and affection, and incite in them a strong feeling of shame on being detected by him in the commission of unworthy actions. It is his duty to study their characters ; to interest himself in their pursuits ; to enhance their comforts ; to assist and to encourage, with counsel and with praise, every good effort ; to extend his sympathy to them in distress ; to console them in affliction ; to show by every means in his power, that though exiles from home, and aliens from their kindred, they have yet a friend upon earth who will not desert them. These are the duties of the officer—and duties too which cannot be performed without an abundant recompense. There are many idle, good-hearted, do-nothing officers, who find the day too long, complain of the country and the climate, are devoured with ennui, and living between excitement and reaction, perhaps in time sink into hypochondriasis—but who would, if they were to follow our advice, tendered not arrogantly but affectionately, find that they had discovered a new pleasure, that a glory had sprung up in a shady place, that the day was never too long, the climate never too oppressive : that at their up-rising and their down-sitting, serenity and cheerfulness were ever present ; that in short they had begun a new life, as different from that out of which they had emerged, as the sunshine on the hill-top from the gloom in the abyss. Some may smile, some may sneer, some may acknowledge the truth dimly and forget it. To all we have one answer to give, couched in two very short words—*Try it*.

We need scarcely enter into minute details to show the manner in which this is to be done. Every officer knows, if he will know, *how* it is to be done. The youth of a month's standing in the army, endowed with ordinary powers of observation, must perceive that there are fifty ways open to his seniors, by

\* The wives of the officers have also a duty to perform, and the moral influence which they might exercise is great. Some ladies are willing to acknowledge this, not merely in word, but in deed : to all would we say, "*Go and do likewise.*" It is possible that in a future article we may enlarge upon this subject.

which they may advance the well-being and happiness of the inmates of the barracks. Let them see, think, and act, as men endowed with faculties and understandings ; and we shall hear no more of that intense longing after transportation to a penal settlement, which has of late possessed many of our soldiers, and urged them to the commission of capital offences. Does not this one fact declare trumpet-tongued the misery of a barrack life in India ? Does it not pronounce the strongest condemnation on those who make no effort to shed a cheering light upon the gloomy path of the exiled soldier ?

But we must do something more than alleviate the sufferings of the present—we must render him hopeful of the future ; we must brighten up his prospects ; animate him with a new-born courage ; fill him with heart and hope that he may “ still bear up and steer right on,” until better days shall dawn upon him ; and the wretchedness and humiliation of the past shall have a subduing influence in the retrospect, and shall lift up his soul with devout feelings of gratitude and love.

The commissioned ranks of the army should not be wholly closed against the deserving soldier in the Company's service, more than in the Queen's. There are no English regiments, which contain so many young men of family and education, as the few European corps and battalions in the army of the East India Company ; and we should be truly glad to see the present great paucity of officers in the Native Army in some degree remedied by the appointment to each regiment of Cavalry and Infantry, and battalion or brigade of Artillery, and to the corps of Engineers, an ensign or second-lieutenant from the non-commissioned ranks ; and that henceforth a fourth or fifth of the patronage of the army should be appropriated to the ranks.

For such promotion, we should select in some such fashion as the following :—Let examination committees be held at Calcutta, Cawnpore, and two of the Hill stations twice a year ; let any European soldier that wished appear before it ; and having passed some such examination as is required at Addiscombe, substituting a course of history and geography, and what by late orders is required in Hindustani before officers can hold Companies, for some of the Addiscombe requisites ; let such men be held eligible for commissions in the Engineers and Artillery, and those passing in Hindustani, and in a more limited course of mathematics for the Cavalry and Infantry ; but before any man received a commission, he should have served one year as a Serjeant-Major, Quarter Master Serjeant, or Colour Serjeant, or as a Sub-Conductor, and produce a

character for sobriety and good conduct and general smartness as a soldier.

With such a stimulus, what might not our European soldiery become? The educated and unfortunate, instead of being our worst characters, would be inspired with hope, while many would wipe away the stain of early misconduct, and by recovering their characters and position, bring peace to their bereaved families. By the infusion, too, of a different class into our covenanted service, we should all be more put on our metal; and, in fact, not only would the whole tone and position of the *Gora-log* be elevated, but their rise would, in a certain degree, raise the European character throughout the country. As Secretary-at-war, our present Governor-General did much for the British soldier; he thoroughly understands their wants, and by his acts he has proved that he does not consider that they should be shut out from hope. We beseech his good offices on behalf of the European soldiers of India; the majority of them exiles for life—and when we consider the effect of character everywhere, the moral influence of one honest, of one good and zealous man, who would lightly discard any means of raising the tone of our Europeans? Too lamentable is the effect of their present misconduct, of their drunkenness, their violence, their brutality, for us to deny that the present system does not answer, and that it calls loudly for change. Every individual European, be he officer or private soldier, we look on as in his sphere a missionary for good or for evil. We have hinted that one indifferent commanding officer may ruin a whole corps. The experience of many will furnish an example. From violence, injustice, meanness, or indifference, from seeds of different sorts, the equally baneful fruit is produced, discipline is undermined, discontent engendered, and misbehaviour and its train ensues.

On the other hand, what may not one Christian soldier do? However lowly his position, how much has he not within his power? The man who, a Christian at heart, devotes himself to his duties, and vexing neither himself nor those under him with harassing frivolities, perseveringly acts up to what he believes his duty, not with mere eye or lip service, but as evincing his love to God, by performing his duty to man. Such a man will not be the one to quail in the hour of danger; his shoulder is ever at the wheel, whether it be in the dull duties of cantonment, the trying times of sickness and famine, or the exhilarating days of success, all will find him cheerful, all will find him at his post.

We fear there is still a very common under-estimate of mili-

tary character, and military duty. The philosophical moralist who calls the soldier a mere licensed murderer; the Epicurean, who only wonders at the madness of men who consent to stand and be shot at, when they could get their bread in some pleasanter way; the narrow-minded Christian, who thinks of soldiers and their possible salvation in the same dubious tone as Corporal Trim, when he asked "a negro *has* a soul? an' please your honor!" and the country gentleman who pronounces on the blockhead or blackguard among his sons, that "the fellow is fit for nothing but the church or the army," all, all, are equally wide of the mark. A soldier--it is a trite commonplace, we know, but, like many trite commonplaces, often forgotten--is not necessarily a man who delights in blood, any more than a physician is one who delights in sickness. Both professions will cease with human crime and misery. The prophecies that hold out to us a prospect of the days when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," tell us likewise of that period when "none shall say I am sick."

We may refresh our spirits by the contemplation of these promises, and pray for the coming of that kingdom; but our own personal duty lies under a different order of things. War is probably the sorest scourge with which our race is visited; but constituted as the world is, a good army is essential to the preservation of peace. Military discipline at large comes not within the province of individual soldiers; but if every man who enlists took care that there was *one* good soldier in the army, our commanders would have easy work.

No man attains to excellence in any design without setting before him a lofty standard; and Christianity, where it is more than a name, incites us always to take the highest. It is no easy slipshod system of shuffling about the world; but "up and be doing" is the Christian's motto. Newton's opinion was that "a shoe-black, if he were a Christian, would try to be the best shoe-black in the whole town."

There is some grave defect in our religious instruction which almost every one feels when he awakens to the importance of the world to come. Somehow the duties of time and the duties of eternity, instead of being inseparably blended, present themselves to the mind, as Dr. Johnson expresses it, "as set upon the right hand and upon the left, so that we cannot approach the one without receding from the other;" and the consequence is, that while some take one side, to the neglect of the other, the majority pass quietly between the two, on the broad road of self-pleasing. The great problem to be solved is, how we may



put the soul of high principle and imperishable aim into the body of our daily acts, small as well as great, as the quaint but delightful old poet George Herbert tells us—

“The man who looks on glass  
On *it* may stay his eye;  
Or if he pleaseth, through it pass,  
And then the heavens espy.”

Applying these general remarks to military duties,—we desire to see every soldier set before himself a lofty standard, remembering that if high qualities and high principles are requisite in the man who would lead and influence his countrymen, they must be more so in the European, who would gain the affections of a race differing from him in colour, language, and religion. Mindful of their own religious observances, the Hindoo and Mahomedan soldier, far from despising their Christian officer, will respect him the more on seeing that he has a religion, and the rudest of them will appreciate the man who, first in the fight, first in the offices of peace, is staunch to the duty he owes his God.

The apostle Paul, of whom Paley, no bad judge, says that, “next to his piety, he is remarkable for his *good sense*,” when he speaks figuratively of the Christian warfare, gives some of the best maxims for the literal warrior. He lays down “holding fast a good conscience” as indispensable to “warring a good warfare,” and tells us that “a good soldier” must “endure hardness.” That religion unfits a man to be a soldier is a maxim that may be placed in the same category as that marriage spoils one. Both assertions arise from misapprehension of what a soldier, a Christian, and a married man ought to be. We have quoted an apostle; let us now refer to a poet—

“Who is the happy warrior? who is he\*  
That every man in arms should wish to be?  
\* \* \* Who, doomed to go in company with pain,  
And fear, and bloodshed—miserable train!—  
Turns his necessity to glorious gain;  
In face of these doth exercise a power  
Which is our human nature’s highest dower;  
Controls them and subdues, transmutes, bereaves  
Of their bad influence and their good receives:  
*By objects which might force the soul to abate  
Her feelings, rendered more compassionate:*  
Is placable, because occasions rise  
So often that demand such sacrifice;  
More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure,  
As tempted more; more able to endure,  
As more exposed to suffering and distress,  
Thence also more alive to tenderness.

\* Wordsworth’s Happy Warrior.

—'Tis he whose law is reason ; who depends  
 Upon that law as on the best of friends ;  
 Whence in a state where men are tempted still  
 To evil for a guard against worse ill,  
 And what in quality or act is best  
 Doth seldom on a right foundation rest,  
 He fixes good on good alone, and owes  
 To virtue every triumph that he knows :  
*Who, if he rise to station of command,*  
*Rises by open means ; and there will stand*  
*On honourable terms or else retire,*  
 And in himself possess his own desire ;  
 Who comprehends his trust and to the same  
*Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim ;*  
 And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait  
 For wealth and honours, or for worldly state ;  
 Whom they must follow on whose head must fall  
 Like showers of manna if they come at all :  
 Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,  
 Or mild concerns of ordinary life,  
 A constant influence, a peculiar grace ;  
 But who, if he be called upon to face  
 Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined  
 Great issues good or bad for human kind,  
 Is happy as a lover, and attired  
 With sudden brightness, like a man inspired ;  
 And through the heat of conflict keeps the law  
 In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw ;  
 Or if an unexpected call succeed,  
 Come when it will, is equal to the need.  
*He who, though thus endued as with a sense*  
*And faculty for storm and turbulence,*  
*Is yet a soul whose master bias leans*  
*To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes ;*  
*Sweet images ! which, wheresoe'er he be,*  
*Are at his heart ; and such fidelity*  
*It is his darling passion to approve,*  
*More brave for this, that he hath much to love.*

\* \* \*  
 Whom neither shape of danger can dismay  
 Nor thought of tender happiness betray—  
 \* \* \*

This is the happy warrior—this is he  
 Whom every man in arms should wish to be."

We would willingly quote the whole of this noble poem ; but as space forbids, we can but recommend every soldier to read it in the volume from which it is taken. We wish the same hand that drew the warrior had given us a picture of a fitting wife for him.

That neither piety nor domestic affection\* spoils a soldier, we

\* Was Hector or was Paris the better soldier ? There is no finer illustration—though unintentional—of the difference between the military husband and the military bachelor than in the pages of the Iliad. The hero of the Odyssey, too, is

see in both classes and individuals. The Puritans and Covenanters fought and suffered as bravely as if they had owned their be-all and their end-all here, and the history of America testifies\* to the fact that the Winthrops, the Williamsses, and others, while most loveable in all the relations of life, were as brave and daring as were the ruffian bands of Cortes and Pizarro. And where does history show such bright examples of genuine heroism as in the persons of the royalists of La Vendée—in Lescure—in Henri Larochejacqueliné—in their brave and devoted associates, who, with hearts full of love towards God and the tenderest domestic affections, rushed from the village church, or started from their knees on the green sward, to stem with their rude phalanxes the disciplined battalions of the national guard, and met death on the field with the serenity and constancy of Christian martyrs?

Washington's life is better than a hundred homilies : it may offer an useful letter to the martinet. How clearly it shows what integrity, good sense, and oneness of purpose may effect. The simple land-surveyor, by his energy and honesty keeping together the ragged and unwilling militia of the States, training and accustoming them to victory, and having performed his work, retiring to private life, is an example that even Britons may set before themselves. But we want not good and great soldiers of our own land. Who more so than Hampden, Colonel Gardner, Admiral Collingwood, and a host of others?

But a soldier, though always ready for the fight, is not always fighting ; and the beauty of right principles and exalted aims is, that they need not the stimulus of a concussion to arouse them, but are operative in the daily and hourly details of life. It is here that a Christian soldier shines as much as in the conflict ; and it would be difficult to over-estimate the influence and utility of a *good* (using the word in its widest sense) commanding officer in the barracks and the field. Devoting himself to his profession, he will have an interest in every man under him ; his example will check the dissolute, encourage the good, and confirm the wavering. A king among his subjects, a father among his family, a master among his pupils, a physician among his patients—the officer's position partakes of the power, the responsibility, and the interest of all these positions. A living homily himself, he aids by his example and influence the labours of those appointed to teach and preach. Having cultivated his

drawn as one eminent in all the domestic relations. Turning from poetry to history, what character of antiquity, drawn in the breathing pictures of Plutarch, is more admirable than that of Agesilaus ?

\* See Bancroft's History of the United States, *passim*, a most interesting and instructive work published at Boston.

own mind, he tries to bestow the blessings of intellect on those under him. Having studied the feelings and circumstances of his men, he can estimate their temptations, and determine the best means of helping them out of vice and into virtuous habits. Above all, he works not for self-gratification or outward applause. He has before him a rule of right, a hope of reward, independent of present success; and therefore is he able to persevere against obloquy and failure, to go straight forward, "doing with all his might whatever his hand findeth to do."

But we must return to our military details.—We had purposed to have offered some remarks on the different branches of the Staff; but our limits are already nearly exhausted. What we have said regarding the Engineers, applies even more strongly to the Quarter-Master-General's Department; at best but the shadow of an intelligence corps, consisting as it does of eight or ten officers, and they not selected for peculiar qualifications, as linguists and surveyors, and not having any permanent establishment of non-commissioned officers or privates under them. In fact, it may be said that with more need for an intelligence department than any army in the world, we are worse supplied than any other. A handful of officers, however well qualified, does not form an establishment or department; and it is a cruelty to impose on officers important duties, involving often the safety of armies, without placing efficient means at their disposal.

When the Army of the Indus assembled at Ferozepoor, in 1838, we are credibly informed that Major Garden, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, about to proceed in charge of his department with the expedition, had not a single European at his disposal; and not a dozen *clashies*. Three officers were then appointed, without any experience as intelligencers, and altogether it may be said that the army marched, as if it did not require information; as if the commander had perfect maps of the country, and had some special means, independent of the legitimate channel, for acquainting himself with what was going on in his front and on his flanks. The exertions of Major Garden are well known; and if he had been shot, as he possibly might have been any morning, the Bengal Division at least would have been without a Quarter-Master-General's Department. Colonel Wild, it is well known, was sent in December 1841, on perhaps as difficult and hazardous an undertaking as has, for many years, been entrusted to an officer of his rank; with four Regiments of Native Infantry and 100 Irregular Cavalry; a Company of Golundauze without guns, and one of Sappers (the two latter being under officers of less than two years' standing), and without staff of any kind—

Quarter-Master-General's, or Commissariat Department. A regimental officer was, for the occasion, appointed brigade-major; and with him began and ended the staff of Brigadier Wild, who, had he had half a dozen guns and as many good staff officers, might have reached Julalabad early in January, 1842; and have thereby, perhaps, averted the final catastrophe at Cabul. To this it may be added, that, *two days before* the battle of Maharajpore, extra establishments were ordered for officers in the field.

These are recent instances of defects in our military organization, and misapplication of the means at our disposal; but the experience of our military readers will tell them, each in his own line and from his own reminiscences, how often an apparently trifling deficiency has vitiated the exertions of a detachment. Only last December, or January, all Oude was alarmed by the report of a Nepalese invasion, and *then* individuals were called upon to lend horses to move the guns at Lucknow; and scarce twelve months before, when a small party was beaten at Khytul in the Sikh states within forty or fifty miles of Kurnaul—one of our Army Division stations—it was three days before a small force could move; it was *then* found that there was no small-arm ammunition in store, and ascertained that an European corps could not move under a fortnight from Sobathoo.

At that time, when both Kurnaul and Ambala were denuded of troops; and every road was covered with crowds of armed pilgrims returning from the Hurdwar Fair; the two Treasuries containing, we have heard, between them, not less than thirty lakhs of Rupees, were under parties of fifty sepoys in exposed houses or rather sheds close to the Native towns; and, extraordinary as it may appear, *both* within fifty or a hundred yards of small forts in which they would have been comparatively safe; but into which, during the long years that treasuries have been at those stations, it seems never to have occurred to the authorities to place them.

The treasury at Delhi is in the city, as is the magazine; the latter is in a sort of fort—a very defenceless building, *outside* of which, in the street, we understand, a party of sepoys was placed, when the news of the Cabul disasters arrived. We might take a circuit of the country and show how many mistakes we have committed, and how much impunity has emboldened us in error: and how unmindful we have been that what occurred in the city of Cabul, may, some day, occur at Delhi, Benares, or Bareilly.

It needs not our telling that improvements are required in the Commissariat. We observe that Ramjee Mull, who was a

man of straw in the department at Bhurtpore, in 1824, died at Delhi, the other day, worth twenty-four lakhs of rupees; and not long since one of the Calcutta papers gave a biographical sketch of Mr. Reid, who, in 1838, was a hungry omedwar, and in 1843 died worth about two lakhs of rupees, having been in the receipt of a salary amounting to perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred rupees per month. We recollect being amused by the naïve expression that his gains were all honestly made. It is just possible that Ramjee Mull's were so; but we look on it as something highly improper that Mr. Reid, a salaried public servant, should have made anything beyond his pay. He took contracts, but he should not have been allowed to do so; and in taking them he was only entering into partnership with Native Gomashthas or Principals, such as Ramjee Mull, Doonee Chund, &c., who, by combining, raised their charges on Government; and it is clear that in so participating or even in being a contractor on his own bottom, he became useless as an assistant to the Commissariat officer in checking fraud on the part of other subordinates.

We have repeatedly seen the charge of a batch of camels on ten rupees per month preferred by an indolent Mootusuddee to a quiet one of thirty or forty rupees; the inference is that they have a per-centage on the grain of the animals; and so it is throughout the establishment; and low rates of pay only are authorized. Commissariat officers are actually in the power of their subordinates; they have not the means of paying respectable men, and being generally called on suddenly, they are in self defence thrown on their monied dependants or hangers-on.

The whole establishment requires reform. The few European officers are now no check on the subordinates; they are, indeed, often screens, and it sometimes occurs that a gentleman-like inexperienced officer considers it a personal offence to have it proved that his gomashtha watered the grog, or served out short grain. Commissariat officers should be carefully chosen and should then be armed with sufficient authority to do their duty efficiently. They have now just power enough to do harm—none to do good, unless they are bold enough to risk their own prospects and even character. A Commissariat officer may easily starve an army and yet bear no blame; but if he saves a detachment from starvation and loses his vouchers: or under extreme difficulties if he has failed to procure them, he is a ruined man. Oh, how much more, in this as in every other department, are forms looked to rather than realities: and how much does Government seem to prefer being robbed according to the usual forms, than to act on the plain principles of com-

mon sense that would actuate the same Government taken individually instead of in its collective character.

But we must draw our remarks to a conclusion, first briefly recapitulating our recommendations:—

1st. To increase the Engineer Regiment and to make it the nucleus of a General Staff Corps available in peace for all Civil Engineering operations—giving all ranks opportunities to qualify themselves for field duties, and by having acquired intimate acquaintance with the language, habits, and manners of the people, and the features of the country; by giving them habits of inquiry and practice in such duties as they may be called on to perform during war.

An immediate increase to the Engineers might be made by volunteers from the Line and Artillery—all ranks of such volunteers passing an examination in the requisite scientific points. They might then, according to standing, be drafted into the present Engineer corps, or form a new regiment of two, three, or more battalions.

We advocate the more efficient officering of the Foot Artillery, its elevation to an equality with the Horse Artillery—or at least that the latter should not be unduly cared for to the neglect of the former.

The regular cavalry should have some smart European Dragoons attached to each troop; the irregulars should be paid, in all cases, the full twenty rupees per month;—Bargeers not being admitted, unless in the case of Native officers, who might each be allowed to have their own sons or nephews (failing sons) as Bargeers, but their number should be limited to four to each officer.

We further desire that some regiments of irregular cavalry, and some of Native infantry, should be commanded and officered by natives, and placed in brigade under Europeans.

We would fain see the army, year after year, more carefully weeded of incapables. Age should no longer be the qualification for promotion; Jemadars and Soobadars should either be pensioned at their homes, or be real and effective lieutenants and captains. We have shown how the deserving old soldier, unqualified to be an officer, may be provided for, by being allowed to return to his home as a Havildar, on completion of his service. Our army being, in relation to the country it has to defend, a small one, it requires that every man should be effective; its subalterns and native officers should not be hoary-headed invalids, but young and active men, and its field-officers and commanders should not be worn-out valetudinarians. We need hardly say, that, gallantly as the army has ever behaved, and much as it has done, more might often have been effected, at less expense of life and treasure, if a few years could have

been taken from the ages of all ranks. We have all experience before us, in proof that great military achievements have been generally performed by young armies, under young leaders. Hannibal and Napoleon had conquered Italy before they could have been brevet-captains in the company's army: at as early an age the victories of Caesar were gained, and at an equally early age Alexander had conquered the world. Forty years ago the victories of the Great Duke were gained in India, and happily he is still at the head of the British army; and we doubt if the ages of all the generals commanding divisions under Wellington, or against him, in the Peninsula, would amount, in the aggregate, to the ages of an equal number of captains of the Bengal army,—and this, be it remembered, in a climate where Europeans are old men at forty; and where, as there are but few of us, those few should be of the right sort, and full of energy, mental and physical.

The location in strength of Europeans on the hills—having good roads and carriage by land and water, for at least a portion of them, always ready—is another of our schemes, as it is also our hearty desire to see the commissioned ranks of the army opened to them, and hope no longer shut out from the inmates of the barracks. The better education of European children, and colonization on a small scale, under restrictions, is a part of this scheme.

The attachment of Native companies to European regiments, as posts of honour, or, at any rate, the permanent brigading of different classes of troops, seems to us highly desirable, as likely to enhance the good feeling of all, improve the tone of the sepoys, and soften the asperities of Europeans.

The greater mixture of classes in our Native army we also hold to be desirable, so as never to give a designing Brahmin the opportunity of misleading a whole regiment. Instant and full inquiry into every case of discontent or disaffection we hold to be of vital moment; no glossing over to save individual feeling, or, what is wrongly considered, to save the credit of the service. No army in the world has been at all times without taint; but where insubordination or dictation once was permitted, or donatives resorted to where summary punishment should have been inflicted, that army soon mastered their Government.

We would make the staff of the army, in all its branches, efficient: keep it so and practice it, while opportunity offers, during peace, so that it may be always ready for war. We would have a baggage-train, and precise orders, that *should be obeyed*, as to the amount of carriage and servants and camp followers, which, under all circumstances, on service, should accompany our armies. We should not take mobs of hangers-



on, or the luxuries of the capital, into the field, and it should be understood to be as much the duty of all ranks to obey orders in such matters, as in doing their duty when actually under fire.

We can see many advantages in having the three armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay united into one Indian army, having one commander-in-chief and one general staff; having rates of pay, equipments, and all else, as far as possible, assimilated, and having *four* commanders of the forces, with subordinate major-generals, all having sufficient authority to order, and finally dispose, of many matters of detail that now go to army head-quarters, and some that cannot now be there settled; with the power of bringing up the bulk of the Madras cavalry, and a portion of their other branches, to our north-west provinces; while the Bengal Presidency might send down a few native infantry regiments to the central stations,—all being on the same footing as to pay and batta, &c. Much good would thus accrue to the service. Emulation between the natives of different provinces would be excited, and the danger of combination be greatly lessened.

We have necessarily but glanced at the various branches of our noble army. We have not forgotten our own deep personal interest in its honour and welfare; but as we hold that our presence in India depends, in no small measure, on the contentedness and happiness of our native soldiery, we have prominently put forth what has long been our opinion, that something more is wanted for the sepahî than that at the age of sixty he should, by possibility, reach the rank of Subadar Major, and with it the first class of Sirdar Bahadour. Doubtless, such hope and expectation is sufficient to influence nine out of ten of our sepahis; but it is for the tenth we want a stimulus; for the man of better education, the superior character, the bold and daring spirit that disdains to live for ever in subordinate place; and it is for such, we firmly believe, that is absolutely required some new grade where, without our risking the supremacy of European authority, he may obtain command and exert in our behalf those energies and talents which, under the present system, are too liable to be brought into the scale against us. Commands of Irregular Corps, Jaghiers, titles, civil honours, pensions to the second and third generation, are among the measures we would advocate for such characters; while we would give the invalid pensions, at earlier periods and under increased advantages, to men who had distinguished themselves in the field or by any peculiar merit in quarters. For all such, and such only, there should be medals and orders, and not for whole regiments, who may have happened to be in the field on a particular day.

Much reform is required in the Native army, but still more in the European branch of the service. The system of terror has long enough been tried, and been found wanting; the system that filled the American navy with British sailors, and drove the flower of the French into the ranks of their enemies, and that daily drives many Europeans in India, who under different circumstances might turn out good soldiers, to suicide, and to the high-road, should at once be exploded. Under a better régime our Europeans, instead of enacting the part of highwaymen, might be rendered as available to purposes of peace as of war, and be as well conducted during one period as another. With commissions open to the ablest, and subordinate staff employment, after certain periods, to all the well-behaved; with aids to study and to rational amusement in barracks, instead of eternal drills, whose beginning and end is to torment and disgust men with a noble service, how much might be done with the materials at our command, and how much would our Government be strengthened, and the value of every individual European's services be enhanced.

To raise men from the ranks, we feel, will be considered a terrible innovation, but we have not ourselves, as a body of officers, been so long emancipated from degrading restrictions that we should not have some fellow-feeling for our brother soldiers. Argument is not required in the matter; common sense dictates the measure. All history teaches its practicality: the Roman Legionary, nay, the barbarian auxiliary, lived to lead the armies of the empire; almost every one of Napoleon's marshals rose from the ranks, and at this day, and with all the preventions of aristocracy and moneyed interests, scarcely less than a fifth of Her Majesty's army is officered by men who rose from the ranks. Indeed, since this paper was commenced, we have observed not less than six staff-serjeants promoted to Ensigncies, Adjutancies, or Quarter-Masterships in a single gazette; but it is reserved to the army of a company of merchants that her sentinels should be black-balled—should be driven with the lash, instead of led by consideration and common sense.

Wonderful, indeed, is it, that this subject should have been left for our advocacy, and that situated as we are, in the midst of a mighty military population, we should fail to see the necessity—the common prudence—of turning our handful of Europeans to the best advantage; and that, while we foster the Natives, we degrade our own countrymen. Drive away hope from the former, make transportation, or death, a boon—a haven to the heart-broken or desperate sepahî, and then see whether the lash will be required in the Native army as well

as the European. We would not abate a jot of discipline with the one or the other; each should be taught his duty thoroughly, which at present he seldom is: he should be a good marksman or swordsman, according to the branch of his service, and until he is master of his weapon, he should be kept at drill; but there should be no after drill and parades, to *keep men out of mischief*—to disgust them with their duty. They should have as much of exercise and instruction as should keep them practised and able soldiers, and their lives should be rendered happy, that they might remain willing and contented ones. The lash should be reserved for mutiny, desertion, and plunder—for Natives, as well as Europeans—and while the worthless and incorrigible are thus dealt with according to their deserts, the indifferent soldier should be encouraged to become a good one; and the best be rewarded according to their abilities, by promotion to the non-commissioned Staff, and the commissioned ranks, and by comfortable provision in old age, in climates suited to their constitution.

We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves in our civil and military relations, as when the connexion ceases, it may do so, not with convulsions, but with mutual esteem and affection; and that England may then have in India a noble ally, enlightened, and brought into the scale of nations, under her guidance and fostering care.

NOTE.—In an article on the military defence of the country, it is obvious that some detailed notice should have been taken of so important a point as the means of rapid locomotion. We had not overlooked it, but the subject is too interesting and too important to be lightly touched upon in a rough desultory article, like the foregoing, which aspires not to teach, but to suggest. A small force, which can be moved, at an hour's notice, from one part of the country to another, with a celerity that will disconcert the measures of an enemy—be the hostile demonstration from without or within—is of more real service in the defence of the country, than an overgrown, cumbrous army, which cannot be put in motion without much difficulty and much delay. To attain this great end, it is not only necessary that our troops should be prepared to move, but that they should have good roads along which to move. Now roads and bridges—we are uttering but a trite common-place—are excellent things, not only as they strengthen our position, but as they conduce to the prosperity of the country—they are blessings to all and no mean part of the real wealth of a nation. In a military point of view they are of incalculable value; and when the country is not only intersected with good roads, but boasts of at least one railroad along the main line, from the sea to the north-western boundary; when our rivers are spanned, at the most important points, with bridges, and ever alive with magic steam-ships, then will it be found that our army of a quarter of a million is equal, in real strength, to an army of a million of men; and that with this facility of transporting troops and stores to any given point—of concentrating a large army, with all the muniments of war in a few hours—we have acquired an amount of military strength, the mere prestige of which will be sufficient to overawe our enemies and to secure an enduring and honourable peace.

ART. III.—1. *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, 26 tomes. Paris, 1780-1783.

2. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, &c. Collection faisant suite aux LETTRES EDIFIANTES. Lyon.

3. *Memoires Historiques presentés (en 1744,) au Souverain Pontife Benoît XIV. Par le R. P. Norbert. Besançon 1747; et Luques, 1745. Avec la permission des Supérieurs.*

THOUGH not very old residents in India, we can well recollect a time, when the Roman Catholics of Calcutta, notwithstanding their numerical strength, possessed but a very slender share of moral influence: and when certain angry discussions, which, from time to time, gave token that the life remained in the body, were *carriare* to the Calcutta public. It was known that they had two or three churches, a few quiet inoffensive Portuguese priests, a few respectable families of the middle classes, and a large body of Indo-Portuguese adherents, who were understood to be in nearly the lowest stage of degradation and ignorance. They appear to have had but one school, which was instituted in 1830; hence many of the most respectable sent their children to the various Protestant institutions. Whatever weight private individuals might have derived from their own talents or character (and there were men distinguished for both), as Roman Catholics they possessed none. Nothing was either hoped or feared from Roman Catholicism in Calcutta. In those days, even the jealousy of rival sects was hushed to sleep. In religion, in education, in all that concerned the welfare of India, when all else were up and stirring, the voice of Rome was unheard, and, spiritually and intellectually, (though present in the body) she was not only absent, but forgotten and unmissed.

Within the last twelve years, however, a very remarkable change has taken place. Where all was torpor, all is now life and activity. Colleges, Schools, Nunneries, English preaching, are springing up, as if by magic. The Roman Catholic clergy already out-number those of any other persuasion. They have an archbishop, a bishop, and a numerous and rapidly increasing brotherhood and sisterhood, lay and ecclesiastical. Protestant children are now to be found in their schools; and there is a college for the education of the natives entrusted to the fostering care of the Jesuits by the wealthy Baboo Mutty Loll Seal. This last, however, can scarcely be classed with Roman Catholic institutions, as its conductors are understood to have pledged themselves to withhold all Christian instruction from the pupils.\*

\* Since this article was written, the institution has passed from the hands of the

There can be no doubt that the sudden, rapid, and simultaneous revival to life and energy of the Roman Catholic Church, in every part of the world, is mainly owing to the re-establishment of the far-famed "Society of Jesus:" and here, as elsewhere, we find these "vigorous and experienced rowers," as Pope Pius VII. happily terms them, once more at the oar. That they will row, and row with vigour, their past history gives ample assurance: but skilful navigators must steer as well as row; and, before abandoning the vessel to their guidance, it may be well to consult the records of a former voyage, which was not only performed on our own waters, but is usually spoken of as the most successful they ever made.

The glory of the Jesuits was their missionary spirit: the glory of their missions was that of Southern India, more generally known as the mission of Madura.\*

"Although there may have been among them defects," says Dr. Wiseman, "and members unworthy of their character (for it would not be a human institution, if it was not imperfect) it must be admitted that there has been maintained among them a degree of fervour and *purest* zeal for the conversion of heathens, which no other body has ever shown."—*Lectures on the principal Doctrines, &c. of the Catholic Church*. Vol. I. p. 218, London, 1842.

Berault Breceastel is still more eloquent, and, forgetting for the moment the historian in the partisan, breaks out into the following animated apostrophe:—

"From the hyperborean mountains of higher Asia to the burning bosom of Africa, from Thibet and the impracticable defiles of Caucasus to the heart of Ethiopia, and, in the other hemisphere, from Labrador and California to the Straits of Magellan, there is not a nation, worthy of the name, there is scarcely even a numerous tribe, where that *Society of Apostles*, which is no more, hastening, before it ceased to be, to fulfil the whole extent of its destiny, had not borne the name of Jesus Christ. The facts are so notorious, that Protestant historians are forced to confess, that the missionaries of this society principally did at this time (the end of the 17th century) convert an infinite number of infidels. All that they have to object is, that these new Christians have received but a feeble tincture of Christianity, and that the true spirit of the Gospel has never been given to them. It is easy to understand what these terms mean in the mouths of the pretended reformers. To obtain the full approbation of the impure and sacrilegious reformation, it would have been necessary no doubt, to instruct the fervent neophytes of *Madura*, for example, to have neither altar, nor sacrifice, and to revere neither priest, nor clergyman, unless he had his wife, or rather his concubine, and his counting-house.

"There have been found among the jealous reformers, emulators so destitute of common sense, as to draw a parallel between *their* missionaries, husbands, and merchants, and the chaste Apostles of the holy apostolic see.

Jesuits, and is now (1844) under the superintendence of a minister of the Church of England—the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjee.

\* They had a mission in Bengal also; but it was unsuccessful, and need not therefore be noticed here.

Infatuated with pride, they saw not that the quality of Apostolic is no less peculiar to the Roman Church, than that of Catholic, and that all the efforts of secretaries to usurp or to counterfeit it have ever appeared but despicable jugglings and miserable apings!"—*Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tome 12, p. 257. Paris, 1830.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged by all impartial men, that the Jesuits have been most energetic and laborious missionaries; sincere in their convictions, whether these were right or wrong; persevering for centuries, in the pursuit of their object, and for that object enduring privations, persecutions, even death itself, with a courage and constancy beyond all praise. But, alas! charity must weep, and frail humanity tremble, when we see how thoroughly these noble qualities were perverted, until they became a curse, instead of a blessing to mankind.

Mere professions of impartiality deceive no one; and the man must be devoid of all principle, and even the common sympathies of human nature, who will not feel strongly in regard to the transactions which we are about to record. But in soliciting the attention of our readers, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, we can honestly assure them, that we are anxious only for the truth, and that our authorities are beyond suspicion. Not one Protestant author is quoted; almost every statement is rested on the letters of the Jesuits themselves, the Mandates and Bulls of the Popes and Cardinals, or the incidental notices of friendly and Roman Catholic writers. Father Norbert is, perhaps, an exception. He was indeed a most devoted and orthodox Romanist; yet as he was a Capuchin and a rival, we have advanced nothing on his private authority alone, however strongly corroborated by circumstances, or otherwise likely to be true. His work is, however, extremely useful, as a repository of public documents admitted by all parties. It was presented by himself to Benedict XIV., the then reigning Pontiff, in the face of friends and foes, which is a sufficient guarantee for its accuracy in essentials.

The flourishing mission of Southern India was originally confined to the triangular Peninsula, having Cape Comorin for its vertex, the Coleroon River for its base, and for its sides, the Ghats (separating it from Malabar), and the sea. It was known in the 17th century, partly, as the kingdom of Madura, which then included Tinnevely with the smaller dependency of Marawas; partly, as the kingdom of Tanjore, which formed its N.E. corner. The shores of the Gulf of Manar, stretching from Cape Comorin to Adam's bridge, were usually called the Pearl Fishery Coast, and were famous as the scene of the early labours of St. Francis Xavier. Within this favoured spot, about one hundred and fifty years ago, if we may believe most spe-

cious contemporary testimony, there might be witnessed millennial happiness. Miracles, we are assured, were numerous; rivalry and strife unknown; hundreds of thousands were added to the Church; and the converts lived and died in all the fervour of their first love, and with the purity of the angels of heaven. Never was Christian Church so blessed: never was Christian Church so successful; for the primitive Christian and the Apostles of Christ were far inferior in self-denial, in heavenliness of spirit, and in successful propagation of the Gospel, to the Apostles, and neophytes of Madura. Hence, as from a nucleus, missionary operations were extended to Mysore and Gingi, and with the same unparalleled success. Dr. Wiseman, in a very beautiful description of the Church of Rome in her missionary capacity, declares that "no clamour or boast is heard within her; but she perseveres in the calm fulfilment of her eternal destiny, as unconscious of any extraordinary effort, as are the celestial bodies in wheeling round their endless orbits, and scattering rays of brilliant light through the unmeasurable distances of space."—*Lectures*, &c., Vol. I. p. 220.

It would be well, indeed, if it were so; for, as we have no other authority for the wonderful success of these Apostolic men than their own modest statements, it is of the last importance that we should be able to rely on these, as neither clamorous nor boastful, but as the simple unexaggerated truth.

Three hundred years ago, in the year 1545, the missionary Xavier landed at Cape Comorin. Nine years later, we are informed by the historian Berceastel (tome 9, p. 308) that the number of converts on the Pearl Fishery Coast alone amounted to upwards of five hundred thousand,—“all fervent, and desiring nothing more than to become martyrs for their faith.” The proceedings of this great man are smothered in such a mass of legend and falsehood, that it is very difficult to discover their actual character. According to the Abbé Dubois, on the authority of his own printed letters to his friend Ignatius de Loyola, Xavier left India in disgust, entirely disheartened by the apparent impossibility of making *real* converts.\*

This much is certain, that his recorded policy was condemned by the Jesuits as ineffectual,† and was totally different from that which was afterwards followed by Robert de Nobilibus, the real founder of the Madura mission, who entered the country about fifty years later. This remarkable man, the nephew

\* Letters on the State of Christianity in India.—P. 3. London, 1823.

† Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Tome 10, pp. 67-68.

of Cardinal Bellarmine, and the grand nephew of Pope Marcellus II., seems to have commenced, somewhere about the year 1606, the very singular system of conversion, which was carried on by his successors with the most extraordinary energy and perseverance for nearly 150 years. "These new missionaries," says Bercestel, "following the method of him who had traced out for them the road, continued to practise, *with all the good faith which the Gospel prescribes*, austerities, which are often but apparent with the zealots of idolatry. On this account, this mission is attended with more hardships than perhaps any other. The most determined enemies of these works of God themselves make an exception in its favour, when they vomit forth their calumnies against most others." — *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tome 12, p. 178.

Leaving, for the present, this somewhat hot-tempered historian, and repairing for information to the fountain head, we find the first distinct notice of the Madura mission in a letter from Father Martin, dated Balasore, in Bengal, 30th January 1699, wherein he expresses his delight, that, having been ordered to Pondicherry, he will thus be as it were at the door of the famous mission of Madura, into which he longed to enter. And certainly the worthy missionary was singularly qualified for his work; for, says he, "As soon as I arrived in this fine kingdom (which is under the dominion of the Mahometans, although nearly all the people are idolators) I applied myself seriously to the study of the Bengalee language. At the end of five months I found myself sufficiently far advanced to be able to disguise myself, and to enter into a famous Brahminical University." — *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c., Tome 10, p. 39.

Reader, we must put in a peg here to hang a doubt upon. Is it credible,—is it possible that, in the short space of five months, a stranger should master the Bengali language, should become so familiar with its idiom,—so intimately acquainted with manners, customs, and observances totally different from his own—that he could successfully assume the disguise of a Brahmin, and enter without detection as a student in a native University? To our doubt, however, is opposed the direct and deliberate affirmation of the missionary himself: so we shall simply pass on to his account of the mission of Madura

"We shall be there, my dear Father," writes he, "at the door of the mission of Madura, the finest in my opinion in the whole world. There are seven Jesuits there, nearly all Portuguese, who labour indefatigably with incredible success and with incredible hardships. \* \* \*—You will easily understand, why I feel myself so strongly attracted thither, when I tell you that the mission is reckoned to have more than a hundred and fifty



thousand Christians, and that every day a very great number is added to it. The least that each missionary baptizes is a thousand a year. Father Bouchet, who has laboured there for ten or twelve years, writes, that for his own part he has baptized two thousand in the course of this last year, and that he has administered this initiatory sacrament to three hundred in a single day: so that his arms fell down from weakness and fatigue. Besides, say he, these Christians are not like those in other parts of India. *We baptize them only after strong proofs of their sincerity, and after three or four months' instruction.* After they once become Christians, they live like the angels, and the Church of Madura seems a true image of the primitive Church. This Father protests further, that he has sometimes listened to the confessions of several villages, without finding among them a single individual guilty of a mortal sin. Let it not be imagined, adds he, that ignorance or shame hinders them from opening their consciences to this sacred tribunal: they approach it as well instructed as the clergy themselves, and with all the candour and simplicity of Novices." *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. Tome 10, pp. 41-43.

Not less favourable is the testimony of Father Bouchet himself, after an experience of twenty-five years.

"That," says he, "which consoles the missionary, and supports him in his labours, is the innocent life of these new believers, and their extreme horror of sin. Most of them have but slight faults to bring before the tribunal of penitence, and we sometimes hear a great number of confessions successively, without knowing on what to found the absolution! A missionary cannot refrain from tears of joy, when he sees these virtuous neophytes shedding tears of compunction, and attending to his instructions with such docility. They are strongly persuaded that the Christian life should be holy, and a Christian who yields to sin appears to them a monster. I shall relate an anecdote on this subject, which has infinitely edified all to whom I have mentioned it. A Hindoo, extremely attached to the worship of his false gods, perceived at last that he was in error; and having got himself instructed in the mysteries of our holy religion, he asked for baptism with importunity, notwithstanding the ties which bound him to infidelity. His conversion was so perfect, that he devoted himself entirely to works of piety. Some months after his baptism I sent for him to prepare him for his first confession. He appeared quite astonished, when I explained to him the manner in which he ought to confess. "When," said he to me, "in the instructions which I have received, they spoke to me of confession of my sins, I understood that it referred to those only which I had committed before baptism, that I might feel for them the greater horror; but you tell me now that it is necessary to declare also those which have been committed after baptism: What! my Father, is it then possible that a man regenerated in these waters of salvation, can be capable of violating the law of God? Is it possible that after having received so great a favour, he can be so unfortunate as to lose it, and so ungrateful as to offend Him from whom he has received it."—"Behold," continues Father Bouchet, with pardonable exultation, "behold the noble idea which our neophytes form of the Christian religion! Nothing seems to me better calculated to confound so many European Christians, who, though they have imbibed with their mothers' milk the maxims of the law of God, nevertheless observe them so ill: while a people, whom they look upon perhaps as barbarians, have no sooner been enlightened with the light of the Gospel, than they observe it faithfully, and preserve even till death that

precious innocence which they have received in baptism."—*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome 13, pp. 55-57.

To the same purport writes Father Barbier, in 1720:—

"Among a hundred whom I confess, scarcely shall I find eight who have fallen into any considerable fault. ALL edify me infinitely by their scrupulous exactness in fulfilling the duties of religion, by the eagerness with which they listen to the word of God, and by the patience with which they endure afflictions and maladies. It seems to me that I look upon a revival of the fervour of the early ages."—Tome 13, p. 188.

One more extract we must make, for which we are indebted to the veracious Father Trembloy, who writes about 25 years later. Nothing can be more direct, deliberate, and circumstantial than this missionary's statement; and we request, that it may be very carefully borne in mind. It will throw light on much.

"Yes!" he exclaims, "the Christians of India adore our God in spirit and in truth: *their worship is pure and without mixture. Their aversion to idolatry is carried even to scrupulousness*: often they refuse to look upon the false gods, to pass before their temples, or to touch anything employed in the ceremonies of the Gentiles! Hunger, thirst, persecutions, the privation of their goods, and the most cruel outrages cannot shake them; as the symbol of their faith, they usually have the cross marked on their foreheads, and the only name they give to the idols is that of Demon."—*Lettres Edifiantes*, 13, p. 176.

The next chapter in the history of this wonderful mission is no whit less surprising, or less worthy of admiration. The devil, it appears, reigned with absolute power over the bodies, as well as the souls, of the unhappy idolators. In certain parts of the country, almost every second person was tormented by demons; and nothing tended more to the propagation of the Gospel, than the universal and well-founded belief, that the meanest Christian was not only for ever delivered from their attacks, but could at once put them to silence and drive them away. Let us listen to Father Bouchet:—

"To begin then, my Reverend Father, it is a fact, which no one in India doubts, and in regard to which the evidence does not admit of a doubt, that the devils utter oracles, and that these wicked spirits seize upon the priests who invoke them, or indiscriminately upon any of those who are present, and take a part in these spectacles. The idolatrous priests have abominable prayers which they address to the devil, when they wish to consult him: but woe to him whom the devil chooses to use as his instrument. He throws all his limbs into an extraordinary agitation, and makes his head turn round in the most frightful manner."—Tome 11, p. 45.

Again:—

"Shall we say then that the power of imagination is sufficient to produce these marvellous effects, which we attribute to the devil? But who can believe that through the force of imagination alone, *some find themselves*

*transported in an instant of time from one place to another, from their own village, for instance, to some distant forest, or unknown pathway,—that others lie down at night in perfect health, and awake next morning, having their bodies all bruised with blows which they have received, and which have forced them to utter fearful cries during the night ?*”—Tome 13, p. 62.

It might naturally be supposed that the Prince of Darkness would bestir himself vigorously when he found any of his own subjects disposed to become Christians: and accordingly we find (Tome 13, p. 65) that “the devil frequently appears “to the catechumens under a hideous form, and reproaches “them in the most cutting terms for abandoning the gods “adored in the country. I have baptized a Hindoo,” says Father Bouchet, “who was carried all at once from the path “which led to the church to another, where he saw the devil “holding in his hand a scourge (*nerf de bœuf*) with which he “threatened to beat him, if he did not give up his resolution “to meet me here.”

Father le Gac, writing to the governor of Pondicherry, tells him, moreover, this is a very common occurrence, and relates another instance that he met with a short time before.

“A short time ago,” says he, “a heathen who has Christian relatives, and who is only waiting for the conclusion of a marriage to follow their example, sitting one evening at his house door in the moonlight, saw a man in appearance like one of their false gods, who came and sat beside him: he held in one hand a trident, and in the other a small bell, with an empty gourd which is used in asking alms. The spectre frowned on him with a threatening glance: but the proselyte, who had heard something of the virtue of the sign of the cross, made that adorable sign, and the spectre disappeared.”—Tome 13, p. 154.

We must hear Father Bouchet again, that we may be made thoroughly aware how completely the devil was made subject to the meanest of the Christians of Madura:—

“I once baptized,” says he, “in a single month four hundred idolators, of whom two hundred at least had been tormented by the devil, and had been delivered from his persecution, by having themselves instructed in the Christian doctrine. At Aour I myself have often been an eye-witness, how Christians of every age, of both sexes of every rank in life, drive away devils, and deliver the possessed by a single invocation of the name of Jesus Christ, by the sign of the cross, by holy water, and by other holy practises which the Christian religion authorizes, and of which our good Indians certainly make a better use than most of our Christians in Europe. Thus it is that our neophytes have a *sovereign contempt* for the devils, over whom their quality of Christians alone gives them so great authority.”—Tome 11, pp. 75-77.

Passing over several instances, where the devil was put to silence by the accidental presence of a single Christian in a crowd of heathen, and where he was ingenuous enough to avow his own discomfiture and its cause, we shall now

record a dialogue between the devil and Father Bernard de Sa:—

"The Heathens brought to him a Hindoo cruelly tormented by the devil. The Father interrogated him in the presence of a great number of idolators, and his answers *very much surprised* the spectators: We first asked him, Where were the Gods, whom the Hindoos adored? the answer was, They were in Hell, where they suffered horrible torments. And what becomes of those, pursued the Father, who adore these false Divinities? They go to Hell, was the answer, there to burn with the false Gods whom they have adored. Lastly, the Father demanded of him, Which was the true religion? and the devil answered from the mouth of the possessed, that there was none true except that which was taught by the Missionary, and that it alone led to Heaven."—Tome 13, p. 67.

The Lutherans, we regret to add, fare no better than the Heathens and their Gods. For Father Calmette tells a story (Tome 13, p. 360) of a Lutheran convert and his wife, who happened to be in Tanjore, when a *heathen* exorcism was performing; and while they were incautiously looking on, the devil, leaving the person possessed, entered into the female heretic. The exorcist, being very much surprised, asked the devil the meaning of this. "The reason is," answered he, "that she is my property, just as much as the other."

The terrified husband brought his wife to the Roman Catholic Church at Elacourichi, and there having asked pardon of God, he took a little earth, which he first moistened with his tears, and putting it on his wife's head with lively faith, she was instantly dispossessed. This fact, adds Father Calmette, is public and unquestionable!

It is no wonder, therefore, as we find at p. 64 of the same volume—"It is said among the Missionaries, THAT THE DEVIL IS THE BEST CATECHIST IN THE MISSION;" with which somewhat startling conclusion we leave this part of the subject.

Having seen how effectually the devils were tamed, we shall now select from the same voracious chronicle one or two edifying examples of piety in tigers—

"My church," says Father Saignes, in a letter to an Ursuline nun at Toulouse (Tome 14, p. 12), "is built at the foot of a high chain of mountains, from which the tigers formerly came down in great numbers, and devoured many men and cattle. But since we have built a church there to the true God, they are no longer to be seen; and this is a remark, which has been made by the infidels themselves."

The following will perhaps be thought more to the point; it is related by Father Tremblay:—

"We were travelling," says he, "about ten o'clock at night, and were occupied, according to the custom of the Mission, in telling our beads, when a large tiger appeared in the middle of the road, so near me, that I could have touched him with my staff. The four Christians who accompanied me,

terrified by the sight of the danger, cried out *Sancta Maria!* forthwith the terrible animal moved a little out of our path, and showed, so to speak, by his posture, and by the grinding of his teeth, how sorry he was to let such a fine prey escape!"—Tome 14, p. 212.

So likewise Father Martin tells us.—(Tome 10, p. 110).

"It has been commonly observed, that when Heathens and Christians are joined together, the tigers devoured the former, without doing any harm to the faithful; these last finding armour of proof in the sign of the Cross, and in the holy names of Jesus and Mary; which, the heathens observing with admiration, they also have begun to make use of the same arms to avoid the fury of the tigers, and to preserve themselves from danger."

Where should we look for miracles, if not in this wonder-land of Madura? A bare enumeration of them even would be endless. At Cotate\* on the South, in the immediate vicinity of Cape Comorin, there was a church built over the spot, where St. Francis Xavier is said to have been miraculously preserved from the flames. In it the Christians had erected a large cross, which God rendered speedily famous even among the "idolators by a very great number of miracles."—Tome 10, p. 85. Formerly *water* was burnt instead of oil, in the lamps suspended before the image of the Saint, and still he continued to work miracles, in the church of Cotate EVERY DAY.—Tome 10, p. 85. At St. Thomas's again, on the extreme North of the Mission, says Father Tachard, (Tome 12, p. 181), "No one can deny, that *continual* miracles are working at the church of our Lady of the Mount." In Madura Proper, they wrought from time to time, as they were required. The staple of Romish miracles all over the world is very much the same; however, we shall endeavour to select two or three from the mass, which have at least the recommendation of originality.

In the church of our Lady of the Mount at St. Thomas's there is a cross, said to have been cut out in the rock by the Apostle Thomas, at the foot of which he is said to have been murdered by a lance thrust from a Brahmin.† This cross is of a very dark grey, nearly approaching to black. Now, *somewhere about* the year 1703, when the church was full of people, the black cross suddenly in the sight of all became red, then brown, and immediately after of a dazzling whiteness; a thick cloud then formed round it, through which occasional glimpses of the cross might be seen, and upon the dispersion of the cloud, the cross was found to be covered with such a profuse perspiration, that the miraculous water flowed as far as the altar! Nay more, whenever this miracle occurs, on sending to the little Mount, the cross

\* *Kotar* in the English maps.

† Rufinus and Socrates say, that St. Thomas was martyred at Edessa, in Syria; perhaps as the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta is titular Archbishop of Edessa, he may be able to decide which of the two is the *orthodox* tradition.

there is found to have, says Father Tachard, "the same miraculous symptoms." Not only was Father Sylvestre de Souza twice an eye-witness of this prodigy, but several English Protestants were present when it occurred, and after a searching investigation were forced to confess that there was something in the matter extraordinary and divine.—Tome 12, pp. 19-20. It is a pity that Father Sylvestre de Souza omits to mention their names.

Returning again to the South, we find St. Francis Xavier working so many miracles for the idolators, that there was great danger of worshipping him as a God.

"They look upon him," says Father Martin, "as the greatest man who has appeared in these last times: they call him *Peria Padria*, that is to say, the great Padre, and there are even grounds to fear that they may rank him among their false divinities, notwithstanding the care which we take in informing them of the kind of worship, which is really His due. Nevertheless they remain at ease in their errors, and when we press them, they content themselves with answering coldly, that they cannot abandon their own religion, to embrace that of a caste so base and despicable as that of the *Feringees*."—Tome 10, p. 88.

The Saint, however, we are sorry to say, seemed to trouble himself very little about conversions, provided he received pecuniary contributions to his church: for he did not work miracles for nothing, and looked very sharp after his money, as the following instance will show.

An idolator had a favourite child, who, from some disease of the eye, was threatened with blindness. The miserable parent had recourse to the saint, and vowed to present *eight* fanams to his church at Cotate, if the cure of his son was effected. The child was cured accordingly: and the father brought him to the Church, and presented him to the Saint: but instead of giving *eight* fanams, as he had promised, he offered only *five*. The saint, however, was not to be so easily cheated: for before the heathen had well got to the church door, he found his son's eyes much worse than they were at first. Struck with terror, the father hastened back, prostrated himself before the altar, publicly avowed his fault, paid up the *three* fanams, and rubbed some oil from one of the lamps on his child's eyes. On leaving the church, he found once more that his son was perfectly cured! This edifying miracle is related by Father Martin.—Tome 10, p. 86.

Another miracle narrated by the same Father (p. 90, &c.) is not a whit more creditable; for in it the Saint comes out in great force, as a patron of *Lotteries*, which Father Martin looks on as perfectly innocent and commendable.

It may be worth while to notice here the principle on which these lotteries were constructed. A number of Hindoos, from

five hundred to a thousand, associated together for this purpose ; each put a fanam every month into a common purse, until a considerable sum was collected : then each wrote his name on a separate slip, and put it into a common receptacle. The vessel was well shaken, and a little child, putting his hand into it drew out a name. The person, whose name was first drawn forth, was the successful candidate, and received the whole sum.

Now it seems that a covetous Heathen had embarked in two of these lotteries, and being anxious for success, bethought himself of St. Francis Xavier. According to Cotate he went, and there promised the Saint five fanams, provided he favoured him in the drawing of the first lottery. He told his neighbours what he had done : and they were not a little surprised to find that his was in effect the first name drawn. This man then paid his five fanams honestly ; and again offered, if he were successful in the second lottery, to pay the Saint ten fanams more. So firm this time was his confidence of success, that he *took bets to a large amount* that the prize in the second lottery would be his also. So it was ! and the grateful idolator paid even more than the ten fanams he had promised.

The only remark, which we shall permit ourselves to make on this edifying miracle, is, that surely some one, after the issue of the first lottery at any rate, might have had sense enough, by offering *twelve* fanams to the Saint, to outbid the other, and so secure the prize.

The idols of the Heathen, among whom the Saint so narrowly escaped being numbered, have women attached to their temples, who are called the *slaves* of the Divinity. What these are, and for what purposes they are kept, is but too well known. Now we cannot help thinking it not a little scandalous that a Christian Saint should have his *slaves* also, and make besides a very considerable profit by selling them by public auction ! It will be said, perhaps, that this is a base calumny !—but listen to Father Martin :—

“ Some bring their children to the church at a certain age, and there publicly declare them to be *the slaves of the Saint*, by the intercession of whom they have received life or have been preserved from death. After which the people assemble ; *the child is put up for sale as a slave*, and the parents receive her back by paying to the church the price offered by the highest bidder.”—*Lettres Édifiantes, &c.* Tome 10, p. 89.

What happens when the parents are not able to raise the money, is shrouded in judicious darkness.

It is not to be supposed that such devout Christians could forget the Virgin and the Saints. The most tender devotion for the Virgin was cherished among them : and when any one

forgot to recite every day the rosary in her honour, he always brought this omission as a sin to the confessional, even though the missionaries assured him that the practice was not absolutely necessary.—Tome 13, p. 75. As it must be interesting to know what saints were held in especial veneration by these angelic neophytes, Father Bouchet has furnished us with a list. “Those,” says he, “whom they invoke most frequently, are “their guardian angel, their Patron, St. Joseph, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, the protector of our mission, St. Peter “and St. Paul, St. Thomas, the Apostle of these countries, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier.”—Tome 13, p. 78. As an illustration of the good effects of this pious practice, he relates (p. 79) the following story: A Christian Pariah was condemned to death for killing a cow. He was bound to a tree over-night, and the soldiers who were appointed to execute him in the morning slept around it. The Christian prayed to St. Francis Xavier that the cords which bound him might fall off; and immediately they snapped asunder with such vehemence *as to awaken the guards*. But the neophyte entreated the Saint to put them to sleep again, which he did on the instant. The Christian then slipped quietly away, and went straight to the missionary, to whom he related what had passed, showing him at the same time the deep marks which the cords had left on his limbs!

It was a common practice in this Mission also to wear on the person medals of the Virgin and Saints as a preservative from danger, and especially from evil spirits.

Reader! Is not this a glorious picture? Behold the heavenly Christians of Madura! Behold their sinless and angelic lives, their pure and spiritual worship of God, their jealous dread of the very appearance of idolatry! Behold how the devils tremble before the weakest of that revered band, and the tigers sink cowering aside, and grin with impotent malice! Behold how miracles are as daily food, and all is so fair, so pure, so holy, that we doubt whether heaven or earth is set before us in the modest pages of the apostolic labourers in this rich vineyard. Who would not wish to be there; who would not exclaim with Father Lopez (x. 63) “Ah! how happy you are, my dear Father Martin! would that I might accompany you! But alas! I am unworthy ever to associate with the band of Saints who labour there?” Insensibly the mind wanders back to the golden age; to the fabled El Dorado of enthusiasts; to the gorgeous visions of Cloud-land; to the poet's dreams of beauty, too bright, too delicate, too ethereal, ever to be realized on this lower earth amidst the strife of human passions. And, as when



on the shores of Sicily, temple, and palace, and tower rise in their exceeding loveliness from the bosom of the waters, and we know that they are unreal, and fear to move even an eyelid, lest the glorious show vanish and nought remain but common rock and sea:—so amidst these glowing descriptions something seems to warn us, not to approach too close, lest this Jesuitical Paradise should vanish into the air, and leave behind, not Apostles and Angels, but a paganized Christianity, and wicked and crafty men.

And even so it is! the high-born Robert de Nobilibus, and the martyred Brito, over whose head hangs canonisation suspended by but a single hair, Father Tachard, and wily Bishop Lainez, Father Bouchet and Father Martin, Father Turpin and Father De Bourges, Father Mauduit and Father Calmette, the learned Beschi, the noble De la Fontaine, and the veteran Pere le Gac, in a word, every Jesuit who entered within these unholy bounds, bade adieu to principle and truth; all became perjured impostors; and the lives of all ever afterwards were but one long, persevering, toilsome LIE. Upon the success of a lie, their Mission depended; its discovery (we have it under their own hands) was fraught with certain and irremediable ruin; yet they persevered. Suspected by the Heathen, they persevered; through toils, austerities and mortifications almost intolerable to human nature, disowned and refused communion by their brother Missionaries, condemned by their own General, stricken by Pope after Pope with the thunders of the Vatican, knowing that the Apostolic damnation had gone forth against all who “do evil that good may come,”—yet they persevered. For one hundred and fifty years was enacted this prodigious falsehood, continually spreading and swelling into more portentous dimensions, and engulfing within its fatal vortex, zeal, talents, self-denial and devotion, unsurpassed in modern times. Men calling themselves the servants of the true God, went forth clad in the armour of Hell; and, sowing perjury and falsehood, they expected to reap holiness and truth. Thus were the Jesuits guilty of that very crime, which Dr. Wiseman most falsely ascribes to the Lutherans; thus was engendered the most horrible of “religious chimeras,—the worship of Christ united to the service of devils!”—*Lectures*, &c., vol. 1, p. 260.

But the providence of God, just and righteous, slumbered not; the sentence went forth from Him; and the end came with sudden ruin and destruction, with shame and infamy to the very name of Jesuit, never ending and never to be effaced.

If the evidence of their guilt were not clear, certain, incontrovertible, authenticated by public documents, proved by their own confessions (sometimes incautious, often boastful!) it would

seem incredible and monstrous that men of high family, able, accomplished, full of zeal and devotion, and professing to be disciples of the Holy and Blessed Jesus, should all of them, without resistance or murmur, be guilty of wilful, deliberate and repeated falsehood, live so doing for many years, and die, and make no sign. But when we turn to the Constitutions of the Society, we find an easy solution of the problem; though the wonder still remains, how men could be found so criminally weak, as to allow themselves to be led blindfold, like silly sheep to the slaughter. And most truly, most deeply do we commiserate the fate of many a noble heart, flying from the world in mistaken zeal to devote itself more entirely to God in the arms of this spacious Society, and finding itself unawares (and who can tell with what secret struggles and untold misery?) involved in a maze of iniquity, deceit, and abomination.

In the Constitutions, the vow of obedience is thus explained:—

"Omnia justa esse, nobis persuadendo; omnem sententiam ac judicium nostrum contrarium cœca quadam obedientia abnegando, et id quidem in omnibus, quæ a superiore disponuntur, ubi definiri non possit (quemadmodum dictum est) aliquod peccati genus intercedere. Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac rigi a divina Providentia per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac si cadaver essent, quod quoquo versus ferri, et quæcumque ratione tractari se sinit, vel similiter atque senis baculus, qui, ubicumque, et quæcumque in re velit eo uti, qui cum manu tenet, ei inservit."\*

The following is a literal translation:—

"By persuading ourselves that everything is just; by suppressing every *contrary* thought and opinion of our own by a certain *blind obedience*, and that in all things, which are determined by the superior, where it cannot be defined (as has been said already) that any kind of sin is present. And let each persuade himself, that they, who live under obedience, should allow themselves to be moved and governed by Divine Providence through their superiors, exactly as if they were a dead carcass, which allows itself to be moved where you will and handled how you please; or like an old man's staff, which serves him, who hold it in his hand, wherever and however he wills to use it."

The specious proviso, in the first sentence, obviously means more than meets the eye, for how can a dead carcass judge of sin? But to take away all ambiguity, and to prove that the members of the society are bound to commit MORTAL SINS, if commanded by their superiors, we find in the first paragraph of the fifth Chapter of the same Sixth Part, that it is thus written:—

"Visum est nobis in Domino præter expressum votum, quo Societas Summo Pontifici pro tempore existente tenetur, ac tria illa essentialia

\* Constitutiones Societatis Jesu, Part VI. cap. i. sect. i. Romæ, in Aedibus Societatis Jesu 1558

Paupertatis, Castitatis, et Obedientiæ, nullas constitutiones, Declarationes, vel ordinem vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere; NISI superior ea in nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, vel in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ juberet; quod in rebus, vel personis illis in quibus judicabitur, quod ad particulare uniuscujusque, vel ad universale bonum multum conveniet, FIERI POTERIT; et loco timoris, offensæ, succedat amor omnis perfectionis, et desiderium: ut major gloria et laus Christi Creatoris ac Domini nostri consequantur.\*"

These Constitutions are still unchanged; and at this day the detestable and truly Satanic doctrine taught in them sanctions every crime, and teaches that, though God's commands may be broken, and provided it be for the advantage of the Society, the Pope's must always be obeyed! How well the Jesuits observed this their special and most binding vow, we shall see immediately. Let us return to Madura.

The foundation of this Mission was laid, as we are informed by the Jesuit Jouvency, in his history of the Order, in the following manner:—Father Robert de Nobilibus, perceiving the strong prejudice of the natives against Europeans, and believing it to be invincible, determined to conceal his real origin, and to enter among them, as one of themselves. For this purpose he applied himself diligently to the study of the native language, manners, and customs, and having gained over a Brahmin to assist him, he made himself master of the usages, and customs of that sect, even to the most minute details. Thus prepared for his undertaking, and fortified besides with a written document, probably forged by himself or by his companion, he entered Madura, not as a Christian Missionary, but as a *Brahmin* of a superior order, who had come among them to restore the most ancient form of their own religion. His success however was not at first complete: and the chief of the Brahmins, in a large assembly convened for the purpose, accused him publicly *as an impostor, who sought to deceive the people by lies, in order to introduce a new religion into the country*: upon which Robert de Nobilibus produced his written scroll, and in the presence of all protested, and MADE OATH, that he had verily sprang from the God Brahma. Three Brahmins, overpowered by such strong evidence, then

\* "It has seemed good to us in the Lord, that, excepting the express vow by which the Society is bound to the Pope for the time being, and the three essential vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, no Constitutions, Declarations, or any order of living CAN INVOLVE AN OBLIGATION TO MORTAL OR VENIAL SIN; UNLESS the superior command them in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, OR IN VIRTUE OF HOLY OBEDIENCE, WHEN IT SHALL BE DONE, in regard to those cases or persons wherein it shall be judged that it will greatly conduce to the particular good of each, or to the general advantage; and instead of the fear of offence, let there be the love and the desire of perfection; that the greater glory and praise may accrue to Christ our Lord and Creator."

rose and persuaded their brethren not to persecute a man who called himself a Brahmin, and proved that he was so, by written evidence, and solemn oaths, as well as by conformity to their manners, conduct, and dress. Having passed this ordeal so triumphantly, he next gave himself out to be a *Saniassi*, and for the remainder of his life kept up the cheat successfully. His example was followed by all his successors in the mission; and the discovery of the falsehood, or the mere knowledge that they were Europeans, is represented by themselves, as synonymous with utter ruin. Thus was laid the foundation and chief corner-stone of the far-famed mission of Madura!

It will be necessary here to introduce a short account of the *Saniassis*, extracted from the "Systema Brahmanicum" of Fra Paolino Bartolomeo. The *Saniassi* is the fourth and most perfect institute of the Brahmins. He lays aside the *poita*, or sacrificial cord, composed of 108 threads, *in honour of the 108 faces of the God Brahma*; but continues the usual daily ablutions, *in honour of the Linga*, with the appointed prayers and ceremonies. The *Saniassi* must also wear an *orange-coloured dress*, which, being sacred, is to be washed by no hands but his own. He carries about with him a copper vessel, with a little water in it, for certain appointed ablutions, and for *purifying* every thing offered to him in charity. In his right hand he holds a staff or club with *seven* natural knots,\* *representing the seven great Rishis*. This staff, which is greatly valued as a gift of the Gods, must be washed every day with water from the *Kamadala*, or copper vessel; and by its power, *he is preserved from evil spirits*. From his shoulders hangs a tiger's skin, on which he sleeps; *because thus was Shiva clad*. He fasts often; eats nothing that has life; flesh, fish, eggs, wine, spirituous liquors, and even certain vegetables are strictly forbidden him. He must bathe in a tank or river, three times a day, going through innumerable ceremonies; and must rub his forehead and his breast with the ashes of cow's dung; *for the dung of this sacred animal cleanses from sin*.† He generally suffers his beard to grow, and wears sandals of a particular description, constructed, says Norbert, so as to avoid as much as possible endangering insect life, and thus perhaps *dislodging the soul of a progenitor*. But what has all this to do with Christian Missionaries? Let us listen to Father Tachard:—

"The Missionaries," says he, "had resolved to assume the dress and the manner of living of Brahminical *Saniassis*, that is to say of religious peni-

\* Norbert says *nine*, in honour of the seven planets and the two nodes.

† See *Systema Brahmanicum*, pp. 47, also 56, 57, *Romæ*, 1791.

tents. This was a very difficult undertaking, and nothing less than apostolic zeal and love could have enabled them to sustain its hardships and austerities. For, besides abstinence from every thing that has life, that is to say flesh, fish, and eggs, the Saniassis have other observances extremely painful. They must bathe every morning in a public tank, in all weathers, and do the same before every meal, of which there is but one a day."—*Lettres Edifiantes*, &c., tome 10, p. 324.

In like manner writes Father de Bourges, to the Countess de Sonde in 1713, inclosing a portrait of a missionary *Saniassi*, with his orange dress, his knotted staff, his copper vessel, his long beard, and his sandals, very edifying, and very nicely engraved in the *Lettres Edifiantes* :—

"You see at once," writes he, "what kind of dress the Missionaries wear : it is of common cotton cloth, neither red, nor yellow, but of a colour betwixt both. The vessel which they carry in their hand is of copper : and as water is not to be found every where, and as, even when found, it cannot always be drunk, *they are obliged to have some always with them* to refresh themselves under this burning sky ! The shoe will appear strange to you : it is a kind of clog or sandal, not unlike those used in France by some of the Franciscans : it is true that these are attached to the foot with latches, while the Indian sandals have no other hold than a wooden knob, between the great toe, and the one next it."—Tome 12, p. 101.

Nor was the tiger's skin forgotten : thus Father Mauduit, describing his interview with a Hindoo prince, says :—

"I stretched my tiger's skin on the ground, according to the custom of the country, and, seating myself on it, explained to him the purpose of my journey."—Tome 10, p. 266.

It would be useless to multiply quotations : one more from Father Martin may suffice :—

"Nothing," says he, "can be more austere or more frightful to human nature than the life of the Missionaries. \* \* \* They abstain rigorously from bread, wine, and eggs, all sorts of flesh ; and even fish. They must eat only rice, and green herbs without seasoning : and they have no little trouble to preserve a little flour for the Host, and sufficient wine to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass."—Tome 10, p. 45.

Thus equipped, with knotted staff in hand, and smeared with the purifying cow's dung, these "Brahmins from the North" (Tome 10, p. 46.) or "*Roman Saniassis*" (*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome 10, 15, *passim*.) boldly went forth amongst the idolators, confidently denying that they were Europeans, and professing to teach the law of the TRUE God.

Nothing, indeed, grieved and scandalized these austere *Saniassis* so much, as the bare suspicion of their being Europeans. This will appear very clearly from the following story related by Father Martin (Tome 10, pp. 168-182), of which "modest" Father Bouchet is the worthy hero. It appears that among the angels of Madura, there were three Catechists, who, for

certain reasons, were deprived of their offices. In revenge they determined to ruin the Missionaries and the Mission. With this "detestable" purpose, they formed three heads of accusation against the preachers of the Gospel. The first was, that they were *Feringees*, that is to say, Europeans. The second was, that they had never paid tax or tribute to the prince of the country; and thirdly, that they had caused a monk of another order to be murdered, on account of which the Pope refused to canonise Father John de Brito.

But the most formidable of all was behind: for they offered TWENTY THOUSAND CROWNS to the Prince, provided he would exterminate the Christians, and drive away Father Bouchet, against whom they were especially set. On the very same authority, we are informed (p. 17) that the *yearly* salary of a Catechist was from 18 to 20 crowns: and it is somewhat hard to guess, whence came the 20,000: but veracious Father Martin is not the man to spoil a good story for a few thousands more or less: so we shall proceed with our narrative. The Prince Regent was the most perfectly disinterested and greatest minister, who ever bore rule in Madura. Nevertheless, Father Bouchet did not think it judicious to appear before this disinterested judge empty-handed: but, according to the custom of the country, he carried with him a present: and this present, though the Father speaks of it as "*peu de chose*," was by no means despicable. It consisted of a terrestrial globe, two feet in diameter, with the names written in *Tamul*: a hollow glass sphere, about nine inches in diameter, silvered inside like a mirror; some burning and multiplying lenses; several Chinese curiosities which had been sent to him from the Coromandel Coast; jet bracelets set in silver; a cock formed of shell work, and fabricated with great skill and beauty; and a number of common mirrors, and other like curiosities, which he had got by gift or purchase.\* After the same fashion, the Father thought it prudent to win over several of the great men of the court. Having taken "these wise and necessary" precau-

\* Father Bouchet does not explain the precise object of these *purchases*, which seem strangely out of place in a *Saniassi's* hut. Norbert tells a story, in relation to a proposed interview between Bishop Lainez, and the English Governor of Madras, which may throw some light on the matter. The Bishop purposing to visit Madras, where the Jesuits were never very popular, wished to know how the Governor would receive him. Upon which the Governor wrote to him rather bluntly, that he should be received, as (what he certainly was) a capital merchant!—*Memoires Historiques, Besançon*, Tome 1, p. 353.

M. Martin, the Governor of Pondicherry, asserts that the Jesuits carried on an immense commerce; that from Father Tachard alone was due to the French Company on account more than 500,000 livres; and that the Company's vessels often took home large bales for the Jesuits in France. Perhaps, says Norbert, they contained relics, p. 183.

tions, he demanded an audience, and was received with distinguished honour, as a Brahmin. The Prince was delighted with the wonderful globe; the Queen was delighted with the shell work and the bracelets; the Father was covered with a piece of gold brocade, sprinkled with rose water, and sat on the same sofa with the Prince, "so that their knees were in contact," which showed how completely every suspicion of his being an European was lulled to rest. He was then paraded through the streets of Trichinopoly, in a magnificent state palankeen, to the sound of instruments, like Mordecai of old, "from which," says Father Martin, "the modesty of Father Bouchet had much to suffer." Finally, he was assured that anything he asked for should be granted. "The success of this species of triumph," continues Father Martin, "strengthened the neophytes in their faith and *finally determined a great number of idolators to ask for holy baptism.*" A word from Father Bouchet would have exiled the offending catechists from the kingdom; but he was content with merely excommunicating them. Rejected alike by Christian and heathen, after six months' perseverance two of them came and threw themselves at the Father's feet. "The Father," says Father Martin, "who had long sighed for the return of these "erring sheep, received them with kindness; and after public "confession, and an authentic retraction, made in the Church, "of their infamous desertion, and their foul and calumnious "accusations (*leurs calomnieuses et noires accusations!*), they "received absolution, and were again admitted into the number "of the faithful." The third remained obstinate in his apostacy. But how did Father Bouchet satisfy the Prince, that he was not an European? How could he, in the Church, in the face of God, force the poor catechists to retract as false, what he knew to be true, and prostitute for his own ends the most solemn ordinances of religion? Now,—but we shall meet with Father Bouchet again, and find him yet more daring in impiety,

"Our whole attention is given," writes Father de Bourzes, "to the concealing from the people that we are what they call *Feringees*: the slightest suspicion of this on their part, would oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the propagation of the Faith."—Tome 21, p. 77.

We had marked many other passages to the same effect: for they were often accused, and every successful falsehood was a fresh triumph to these successors of the Apostles. But it cannot be necessary to enlarge upon this distressing subject; one more quotation only we shall make, were it only to show how deliberately a Jesuit could lie. A famous heathen penitent was almost persuaded by some missionaries on the coast, where they appeared as Europeans, to embrace the Christian

religion: but the idea of uniting himself to the despicable *Feringees* gave him great uneasiness. Seeing this, says Father Martin,

"We resolved to send him to Madura to be baptized by one of the Missionaries who live there as *Saniassies*. We told him, therefore, that we were but the *gurus* or teachers of the low castes on the coast, and that it was proper for him, as he was a person of quality, to apply to the teachers of the higher castes, who were inland."—Tome 10, pp. 99, 100.

And the poor man *believed* them, and was baptized in Madura! Another triumph of the faith!

That the discovery of this long course of falsehood would be attended with the most ruinous consequences, is again and again repeated by Father Martin.

"The Missionaries are not known to be Europeans: if they were believed to be so, they would be forced to abandon the country: for they could gain absolutely no fruit whatever.—The conversion of the Hindoos is nearly impossible to evangelical labourers from Europe: I mean impossible to those who pass for Europeans, even though they wrought miracles."—Tome 10, pp. 45, 66.

So again, writing of the visit of Bishop Lainez to Aur, he says,

"No other bishop until now had dared to penetrate into the interior, because, being ignorant of the language and customs of Madura, he would be sure to pass for a *Feringee* or European in the opinion of the Hindoos, *which would have been the absolute ruin of Christianity*"—Tome 12, p. 132.

With the sword thus ever suspended over their heads, it may be imagined in what continual misery and dread of detection they must have lived. This fear is sometimes carried to the verge of the ludicrous. Thus Father Saignez, who from exposure to the sun "had changed his skin three times like a serpent," trembles lest the new skin should be *whiter* than the old, and so lead the people to suspect that he was a *Feringee*.—(Tome 14, p. 41.) Again, it is almost sublime: thus an anonymous Missionary, who had been thrown into prison, preferred *to die* in his bonds, rather than be indebted for his liberty to the Europeans on the coast, whose interference in his behalf might give rise to a suspicion that he was connected with them! (Tome 13, p. 24.)

It will be remembered that this infamous system had for its chief object the conversion of the Brahmins, and that Xavier himself even does not escape without a sneer at the low caste of his converts. Considered in this view, nothing could be more signal than failure of the plot. The lordly Brahmins held disdainfully aloof, in open hostility or haughty suspicion. The wily fathers of St. Paul were over-matched: in lies, in cunning, in fraud, the Brahmins of Madura might perhaps be inferior to the sons of Loyola; but in austerities, mortification, and power



over the people, they were more than their masters. Besides, they fought at advantage: for the Brahmins believed that they had truth on their side; while the Jesuits quailed under the consciousness of falsehood. A whole history may be gathered from a letter of Father Tachard, the superior of the Mission, dated February 4th, 1703.

"Father de la Fontaine," writes he, "has had *extraordinary* good fortune since the commencement of his mission. In addition to more than a hundred adults from other distinguished castes, whom he has baptized, he counts among his neophytes *nine Brahmins*: that is to say, he alone has in eight months baptized more adult Brahmins than nearly all the missionaries of Madura have baptized in *ten years*. If these conversions continue, as we have reason to hope, he may be called the *Apostle of Brahmins*, and should God give grace to a great number of these learned nobles, so that they may embrace Christianity, all the other castes will be easily converted.—Tome 10, p. 331.

Father de la Fontaine died fifteen years afterwards, but neither he nor any of his brethren has yet been called "the apostle of the Brahmins."

The *Roman Santissis* were more successful in imposing on the simple country people of the lower castes. They gained over a considerable number of *Sudras*: but the bulk of their converts were *Pariahs*.

From what Father Mauduit tells us, much may be gathered in regard to the internal economy of the Mission:—

"The catechist of a low caste," says he, "can never be employed to teach Hindoos of a caste more elevated. The *Brahmins* and the *Sudras*, who form the principal and the most numerous castes, have a far greater contempt for the *Pariahs*, who are beneath them, than Princes in Europe can feel for the scum of the people. They would be dishonoured in their own country, and deprived of the privileges of their caste, if they ever listened to the instructions of one whom they look upon as infamous. We must therefore have *Pariah* catechists for the *Pariahs*, and Brahminical catechists for the *Brahmins*, which causes us a great deal of difficulty."—"Some time ago a catechist from the Madura Mission begged me to go to Pouleour, there to baptize some *Pariah* catechumens, and to confess certain neophytes of that caste. The fear that the *Brahmins* and *Sudras* might come to learn the step I had taken, and thence look upon me as infamous and unworthy ever after of holding any intercourse with them, *hindered me from going*! The words of the holy Apostle Paul which I had read that morning at mass, determined me to take this resolution, 'giving no offence to any one, that your ministry be not blamed,' 26 Cor. vi. 3. I therefore made these poor people go to a retired place about three leagues from here, where I myself joined them *during the night, and with the most careful precautions*, and there I baptized nine!"—Tome 10, pp. 243-245.

With all deference to Father Mauduit, it may be doubted whether the apostolic injunction is very consonant with this work of darkness; nor does the good-natured Father tell the whole story. For the poor *Pariahs* had not only separate catechists,

but separate churches; and if they presumed to enter the church of a higher caste they were driven out and well whipped. Nay, even when they were dying, the Christian *Saniassi* refused to enter their dwellings; and the expiring wretch, in nature's last agony, was dragged from his couch, into the open air, or to a distant church, that the *Saniassi*, uncontaminated by entrance into the house, might (but without contact) administer the last rites of the Church.

The real number of their converts is involved in impenetrable mystery. In the sixteenth century the converts of St. Francis Xavier are said to have amounted to half a million. In the beginning of the 18th century, the native Christians in Madura are reckoned by Father Martin to amount to 150,000. He also informs us that each Missionary baptised at least 1,000 annually, and that some much exceeded that number: for instance, Father Bouchet baptized more than 30,000 souls in 12 years (Tome 10, p. 54), and Father Lainez in Maravas no less than 10,000 in 22 months.—(Tome 10, p. 285.) In A. D. 1700, there were but seven or eight Jesuits in the Mission, but in 1750 they had in Southern India upwards of 20. Taking ten only as a fair mean, we cannot put down the yearly increase by conversion at less than 20,000; and all these, it is to be presumed, were *adults*—for Father Martin assures us that the Missionaries “only baptize after hard probation, and three or four months’ instruction.”—Tome 10, p. 43. Now, allowing that the births and deaths merely counterbalanced each other, there should have been in 1770, about the time the Jesuits left the Mission, at least a million and a half of native Christians in Maravas and Madura. To this must be added the increase of Xavier’s converts on the Pearl Coast during a period of three hundred years. Yet in 1776 Fra Paolino da San Bortolomeo found but 18,000 in Madura, and 10,000 in Tanjore!\*

It will be seen, however, that the main supply of baptisms was from another source. Besides the children of the Christians, of whom each Missionary, by himself or his catechists, baptized from three to four thousand yearly, immense numbers of Heathen children were added to the church after the following singular fashion:—

“When these children,” says Father de Bourges, “are in danger of death, our practice is to baptize them without asking the permission of their parents, which would certainly be refused. The Catechists and the private Christians are well acquainted with the formula of baptism, and they confer it on these dying children, under the pretext of giving them medicines.”—Tome 12, p. 107.

\* Voyage to the East Indies. London, 1800, p. 65.

In this part of the work the women were found to be most useful assistants, as they alone could have access to infants newly born; and Father Bouchet mentions one woman in particular, "whose knowledge of the pulse, and of the symptoms of approaching death, was so unerring, that of more than *ten thousand* children whom she had herself baptized, not more than two escaped death."—Tome 13, p. 34.

In like manner, during a famine in the Carnatic about A. D. 1737, Father Trembloy writes, that, according to the report of the Catechists and Missionaries, the number of deserted and dying children baptized, during the two years of dearth, amounted to upwards of *twelve thousand*. He adds, that, as every convert knew the formula of baptism, it was rare in any place where there were neophytes, *for a single heathen child to die unbaptized!*—Tome 14, pp. 185, 186.

It may be taken for granted, that when Christian Missionaries assumed the orange cloth and the tiger's skin, and professed to have sprung from the head of the divine Brahma, they must have allowed, in their followers, a like conformity to the superstitions of the country; even although Father Trembloy has asserted in the most confident terms that a native Christian could scarcely endure so much as to look upon an idol.

Let us assist at a Hindoo procession. An immense car approaches covered with silk awnings, and gaudily decked with fruit and flowers. It is dragged slowly on its creaking wheels by a tumultuous crowd, and surmounted by a female figure. She has on her head the *Tirubashi*, a ring through her nose, and round her neck the sacred nuptial collar. On each side of her are men with parasols in their hands, and one holds a napkin with which he carefully drives away the mosquitoes. (Norbert, 1, 428.) The car is preceded by dancers half naked, and streaked with sandal wood and vermilion. Wild shouts ring through the air, and the car is stunned with a confused din of horns, trumpets, tom-toms, kettle-drums, and other instruments of music. It is night: but (besides a grand illumination, and the blaze of innumerable torches) rockets, wheels, roman-candles, and other fire-works in the construction of which the Hindoos excel, shoot up in every direction. The crowd is of the usual motley description, all Hindoos,—and all with the characteristic marks of idolatry. The car is the gift of a heathen prince; the dancers and many of the musicians are borrowed from the nearest pagoda; the spectators are idolators; but the woman represents the Virgin Mary; and the actors in this scandalous scene are the Christians of Madura!

How lovingly the Christians and the Heathens associated together on such occasions, Father Martin tells us on another occasion—(Tome 11, p. 148):—

“The chief man of the place with all his family, and the other *Heathens* who were present in the procession, prostrated themselves three times before the image of the risen Jesus, and adored it in a manner which happily blended them with the most fervent of the Christians!!”

Immediately followed, as usual, a great number of baptisms. Indeed, processions and dances were favourite methods of conversion with the Jesuits. Thus the traveller Mandelslo, who was at Goa in 1639, has the following description of an entertainment given by the Jesuits, at which the Archbishop of Goa was present:—

“At the upper end of the pillar came out a flower made like a tulip, which opened of itself while they danced, till at last there came out of it *an image of the blessed Virgin, with her child in her arms*, and the pillar itself opened in three several places to cast out perfumed waters like a fountain.—The Jesuits told us, that by that invention they represented the pains they had taken in planting, among the Pagans and Mahometans of those parts, the Church of God, whereof our Saviour is the only pillar, or corner stone.—There came in also one man alone, who was covered with birds’ nests, and clothed and masked according to the Spanish mode, who began the *farce* of this comedy by ridiculous and fantastic postures: and the ball was concluded with the coming in of twelve boys, dressed like *apes*, which they imitated in their cries and postures. As we took leave of our entertainers, they told us, that they made use of those divertisements, *as well to reduce the Pagans and Mahometans of those parts to the embracing of the Christian religion by that kind of modern devotion*, as to amuse the children, and divert them after their studies.”—*Mandelslo’s Travels into the Indies*. Book II. London, 1669.

The dancers attracted also the special admiration of the devout Roman Catholic nobleman Pietro della Valle, who visited Goa in 1624. And fine showy fellows they were! Naked from the waist upwards, with painted bodies, and gold bracelets and necklaces; with flowers in their turbans, gay parti-coloured hose, and gallant streamers hanging below the knee, “so that,” says Della Valle, “in the festivities made at Goa for the canonization of Saints *Ignatius* and *Xavier*, though in other things they were most solemn and sumptuous; yet in my conceit, there was nothing more worthy to be seen for delight than the many *pretty and jovial dances* which intervened in the tragedy.”—*Travels into the East Indies*, p. 165.

Let us now turn to an open and veritable procession of idolaters. Who are these in the throng, with cymbal and trumpets, with kettle-drum and horn, loudest in devil-worship? Reader, these are Christians of Madura! What! you exclaim, those angelic men, who rarely commit a venial sin, and, from their horror of idolatry, scruple to pass by a heathen temple! Even so:—

there they are round the idol, as loud and as busy as the most zealous of its worshippers. And Father Bouchet and Father Bartolde deplore the scandal, but cannot promise the Legate that it shall cease. What can they do, indeed? *It is the custom.* Vain are threats: vain are fulminations. The Legate dies in a foreign prison, and Fathers Bouchet and Bartolde go to their account: but sixty years afterwards this infamous practice is in full vigour. Fra Bartolomeo tells of "a diabolical nocturnal orgy," during which the statue of *Shiva* is carried round, with the *Lingam* before him. At this festival all the Christians of the country are required to be present: and there is a dance to which the Christian women are invited—those who do not go voluntarily, being compelled to attend. Fra Bartolomeo applied to the heathen magistrate to prevent the overseers of the temple from compelling the Christians to be partakers in this detestable festival. "The overseers, however," says he, "found means to make a thousand excuses, and always referred to *ancient usage.*"

"But this did not discourage me from pursuing the accomplishment of my object, and as I was invested with full power by the Heathen Magistrate, I caused some Christian fishermen from Cuttur and Sumboli, who had taken a share in the celebration of this festival, to get a severe beating before the Church door, as a warning to other Christians not to partiticate in such abominations for the future."—*Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 119, London, 1800.

Nor was this all. The distinction of castes was rigorously observed; the Pariahs had separate Churches, fonts, confessionals and communion tables; marriages were celebrated between children seven years old, and with nearly the whole idolatrous ceremonial of the Heathens: and the wives of the Christians had suspended from their necks the indecent *Taly*, representing the god *Polleaur*, the *Præpus* of the Greeks. The Brahmin retained his *poita*; and sandal wood, and the ashes of cow's dung were applied to the body as before. Christians and Heathens observed the very same ablutions, and both used the very same prayers, while bathing, which were really directly addressed to the idols of the Hindus. In short, as the keenest observer might be at a loss to distinguish the *Saniassi* of Rome from the *Saniassi* of devils, so he might be equally puzzled to discriminate between the Christian of Madura and the idolatrous Hindoo. There was indeed in the latter days of the mission a notable distinction: the use of the *Taly* ceased,—that is, *Jesuitically*; for the reverend Fathers cut off a little from the stomach of *Polleaur*, and on the flat surface thus formed, they engraved a tiny little cross, so that it ceased to be a *Taly*, and became a decent and edifying Christian ornament, and a fit companion

for a medal of the Virgin, or of St. Xavier himself.—*Norbert*, Tome 2, p. 323. *Besançon*.

The proof of all these abominations is at hand, and will abundantly satisfy the most sceptical inquirer; which leads us to another phase of this strange and scandalous history.

During the lifetime of Robert de Nobilibus, the first news of these unhallowed doings reached Goa, and were listened to with surprise and indignation.

Loud complaints were immediately made to Rome; and Paul V. the reigning Pontiff, appointed the Archbishop of Goa to inquire carefully into the nature of the rites and customs that prevailed in the mission of Madura. Meneses, certainly not the most scrupulous of Prelates, condemned them unequivocally. In the mean time the Jesuits, aware of that danger, boldly asserted that the rites were merely civil observances, and had nothing in them of a religious nature; that they were neither contrary to the faith nor to morality, and absolutely essential to the propagation of Christianity in India. Misled by such misrepresentations, yet doubtful of their good faith, Pope Gregory XV. in the year 1623, issued the Constitution, *Romane Sedis Antistes*, wherein he allows the wearing of the cord, provided it be merely a mark of nobility, the use of sandal-wood, provided it be rubbed on the body merely for ornament and on account of its agreeable flavour, and the practice of bathing, but only for the purpose of cleanliness and refreshment: but he condemns in the strongest language, and beseeches them, by the bowels of Christ, to abstain from every rite or practice attended with the slightest offence, or defiled by the smallest possible tincture of superstition (*a quolibet vel levissimâ culpâ aut maculâ, necdum ab impurissimâ superstitionis labe*). He also ordains that there should be no distinction in the Church between the *Pariahs*, and the higher castes, but that all should hear the word of God, and partake of the sacred mysteries, *together*. To avoid public scandal, this Constitution was sent to the Jesuits alone; and the worthy fathers, with admirable tact, received it in profound silence, and continued to do exactly as they had done before; so that, until 1680, the Capuchins did not so much as know that such a Constitution was in existence.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Jesuits had reached the zenith of their power. It was the age of Louis XIV., in those splendid days, when success crowned every enterprise, when Europe seemed prostrate at his feet, when heroes, philosophers, and poets worshipped him as a demi-god, rather than honoured him as a king, and counted a flattering

word, or a condescending smile, a greater reward than glory. Then neither man nor woman resisted his will, and it seemed as if he could never know reverse or misfortune. Yet there was *one* man before whom that haughty Monarch trembled, and to whose councils he was docile and submissive as a little child; and that man was the Jesuit, Le Tellier. So complete was his ascendancy over the mind of Louis, that Madame de Maintenon herself dared not to oppose it, or even to interfere secretly in favour of her dearest friends. Is it to be wondered at, if at such a crisis, the Jesuits thought themselves all powerful, and acted as if the empire of the world were already in their grasp? The Protestants driven from France, the Jansenists broken or breaking, the Dominicans hating, but fearing and bending before them, Paraguay their own, the mighty empire of China about to be Christianized after their own fashion, and India with her yearly produce of thousands and tens of thousands of angels,—truly the prospect was dazzling, and accordingly the worthy Fathers carried matters with a high hand. They knew not that “the Judge was at the door.”

Nearly eighty years had elapsed, since the constitution of Gregory XV. was issued “under the ring of the fisherman;” eight Popes had passed into eternity, and the Malabar rites, strengthened by the practice of a century, were more deeply rooted than before. And now the Jesuits, blinded by success, lost sight of their usual prudence. Through the weakness of M. Martin, the Governor of Pondicherry, who at their repeated instances, gave them illegal possession of a famous Hindu pagoda, that city was all but lost to the French, and the tumult was with difficulty appeased by allowing the Brahmins to take triumphant repossession of their temple. M. Hebert, the next governor, at first opposed them boldly, and in a letter to father Tachard, rebukes them for their constant intermeddling in the affairs of the Company, and for forcing their converts into families, nominally as servants, but really as “domestic spies.” His description, indeed, of these marvellous neophytes is strangely different from that of the *Lettres Edifiantes*. He speaks of them as men “of scandalous life, lazy, superstitious, and almost universally given to thieving;” and reproaches the Missionaries for allowing them to retain nearly all their superstitions, and idolatrous ceremonies, such as the Cocoa-nut at marriages, the mirror at funerals for the dead man to see his soul, the marks on their foreheads, and the Heathen music in their processions, as well as for their cruel treatment of the *Pariahs*. See his letter at length in Norbert.—*Memoires Historiques*, Tome 1, p. 40, *Besançon*. Monsieur Hebert was answered, not by words, but

by deeds; he was recalled in disgrace, to be sent out shortly afterwards, the reluctant, but obedient tool of the Jesuits.

About this time, in the year 1701, arose the persecution in Tanjore, caused by a public outrage on the idols of the country, during one of their processions in Pondicherry.\* Father Tachard assures us (*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome 10, p. 317) that *twelve thousand* Christians stood firm in the hour of trial, and endured the most cruel sufferings for the faith. Pondicherry is but a little way on the other side of the river; but, strange to say, nothing of all this was heard of there. On the contrary, Father Norbert assures the Pope, that, to the shame of their Christian profession, not *one* was found ready to seal his faith with his blood; and that, while a few families fled to the coast for shelter, the Christians of Tanjore flocked by thousands to the pagodas, to renounce Christ, and receive the indelible mark of Vishnu.—*Memoires Historiques*, 1, pp. 71, &c. *Besançon*.

It was precisely the same in 1784; when Tippoo ordered all the native Christians in Mysore to be seized, and gathered together in Seringapatam, that he might convert them to Mahometanism. Amidst that vast multitude, amounting to more than 60,000 souls, says the Abbe Dubois, (while he indignantly exclaims “oh shame! oh scandal! will it be believed in the Christian world?”) not *one*, not a single individual among so many thousands, had courage to confess his faith under this trying circumstance, and become a martyr to his religion. The whole apostatised *en masse*, and without resistance or protestation.”—*Letters on the state of Christianity in India*, p. 74, London 1823.

Yet the Jesuits tell us, in these veracious Letters so often cited, that there was nothing more characteristic of these neophytes, than the ardour with which they courted martyrdom! It is true that, in Tanjore, as well as in Mysore, when the peril had passed over, numbers returned to their former faith, saying, adds Dubois, “that their apostacy had been only external, and that they always kept the true faith in their hearts:” but, he continues significantly, “God preserve them from being exposed in future to the same trials.”

On the 23d of Nov. 1700, Cardinal Albani was elected Pope, and assumed the name of Clement XI. Everywhere he found opinions divided, and the most violent and bitter recriminations concerning the proceedings of the Jesuits in India and China. By themselves their policy was represented as innocent, necessary, and sagacious; by their opponents as scandalous, unchristian,

\* The images of Brahma, Vishnu, &c., were broken to pieces in the streets by a Native Christian, representing St. George.



and stained by the darkest crimes. The framer of the far-famed Bulls, *Unigenitus* and *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, can scarcely be suspected of any bias against the Society of Jesus: nevertheless he deemed it necessary that the matter should be thoroughly investigated, and settled by competent authority on the spot. For this purpose, after anxious deliberation, he fixed upon a prelate in whose wisdom and piety he had the fullest confidence, and determined to send him to the East, clothed with the amplest powers, to examine and set at rest for ever those unhappy disputes which divided and scandalized Christendom.

Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, was of an illustrious family in Savoy, and of high repute for learning and sanctity. He is described in the brief of Clement XI., dated 2nd July, 1702, as a man "whose well-known integrity, prudence, learning, piety, charity, skill in business, and zeal for the Catholic religion made him worthy of the highest trust;" and he was accordingly appointed Apostolic Visitor, with the full powers besides of *Legate a latere*. The brief further enjoins every Ecclesiastic in India and China, whether Secular or Regular, "*etiam prædictæ Societatis Jesu*" to obey his mandates implicitly, and without delay: for though a final appeal to Rome was of course open, yet that regarded the future, and in the mean time could in no way delay the execution of the Legate's Mandate, to which all were strictly ordered to render instant obedience.\* Briefs to the same purport were addressed to the Archbishop of Goa, the Bishop of Meliapore, and other Prelates in India and China.

In addition to all this, Louis XIV. placed two frigates at his disposal; in one of which, *Le Maurepas*, of 46 guns, commanded by M. de Fontaine, he sailed from Teneriffe, May 3rd, 1703. On the 6th of November he landed at Pondicherry amidst the thunder of cannons; and a *Te Deum* was chanted in the Church of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Amidst the joyful acclamations of the multitude, surrounded by the clergy and the magistrates of the place, and by a mixed crowd of Christians and Heathens, he was conducted in a sort of triumphal procession to the Society's Mission house; *there* he abode during his nine months' stay in India, and it would have been impossible, he himself writes in his journal, to add anything to the politeness, the hospitality, and attention with which he was entertained. During these nine months the Legate was indefatigable in gathering information regarding the Malabar rites. He examined the Capu-

\* Quæcunque appellatione, recursu, recusatione, seu nullitatis dictione, minime obstante, ita ut quælibet appellatio solum in devolutivo, et non retardata executione, et non nisi ad dictam Sedem interponi possit.

chins; he examined impartial men of the world; he used his own eyes; and, most of all, the materials of his decree were drawn from the lips of the Jesuit Fathers themselves. With a portion of their own cunning, he set a snare for these worthy men; and Father Bouchet and Father Bartolde were taken. He summoned these two Fathers to a private conference, praised their zeal, seemed to enter into the difficulties of their position, and so won upon them, that they frankly told him *all*, not disguising even the repugnance which they had felt at first to the system of mendacity and imposture, which prevailed in Madura. They did not know that two secretaries were concealed in the room, who took full notes of the conversation. Not quite satisfied with themselves, however, they proceeded at once to tell their superior, Father Tachard, what had happened. The wily Tachard, alarmed for the consequence of their ruinous sincerity, sent them back to the Legate, to unsay and explain away their most unfortunate admissions. But it was too late: and now they were obliged to brave the storm.

The famous decree of Cardinal de Tournon was published on the 8th of July, 1704; and, though itself in our Protestant eyes not free from superstition and laxity of Christian principle, is in all respects a remarkable testimony against the semi-paganism introduced into Madura under the sacred name of Christianity. He begins by declaring, that what was wanting in his own personal experience had been supplied by the Fathers, Venant Bouchet, superior of the Carnatic Mission, and Charles Michael Bartolde, Missionary of Madura, learned and zealous men, long resident in the country, and perfectly acquainted with its manners, language, and religion; and that from their lips he had learned (*dictis Patribus ore tenus auditis*) what those things really were, "which rendered the vine branches feeble and barren, adhering, as they did, rather to the vanities of the Heathen than to the vine, Christ." The decree, as a whole, is too long for extraction: it will be sufficient to substantiate our statements by a few extracts in the original, accompanied by a literal English translation. The numbers refer only to the paragraphs extracted.

1. *Præterea, quum moris hujus regionis sit, ut infantes sex vel septem annorum, interdum etiam in teneriori ætate, ex genitorum consensu, matrimonium indissolubile de præsentì contrahant, per impositionem Talii, seu aureæ tessera nuptialis uxoris collo pensilis; Missionariis mandamus, ne hujusmodi irrita matrimonia inter Christianos fieri permittant. &c.*

1. Further, as it is the custom of this country, that children six or seven years old, and sometimes even younger, contract, with the consent of their parents, an indissoluble marriage, by the hanging of the *Taly*, or golden nuptial emblem, on the neck of the bride, we command the Missionaries never to permit such invalid marriages among Christians.

2. Et quoniam apud peritiores impiæ illius religionis sectatores, Talii præ se fert imaginem licet informem Pulleyaris, sive Pillayaris, idoli nuptialibus ceremoniis præpositi; quoniam dedecet Christianas Mulieres talem effigiem collo deferre in signum matrimonii; districte prohibemus, ne in posterum audeant Talii cum hac effigie collo appendere, et, ne uxores innuptæ videantur, poterunt uti alio Tali, vel Sanctissimæ Crucis, vel Domini nostri Jesu Christi vel Beatissimæ Virginis, vel aliâ quâvis religiosa imagine ornato!

3. Et quum superstitione non carcat funiculus centum et octo filis compositus, et eroeco succo delinitus, quo plerique dictum Talii appendunt, prohibemus etiam dictum filorum numerum et unctionem.

4. Ceremoniæ etiam nuptiales, juxta harum regionum morem, tot sunt, tantæque superstitione maculate, ut tutius remedium aptari non posset, quam eas omnino interdicendo; quum undique noxiâ Gentilitatis labe seateant, et difficilimum sit eas a superstitionis expurgare. At vero, &c.

2. And since, according to the best informed adherents of that impious superstition, the Taly bears the image, though unshapely, of Pullear or Pillcar, the idol\* supposed to preside over nuptial ceremonies: and since it is a disgrace for Christian women to wear such an image round their neck, as a mark that they are married: we henceforth strictly prohibit them from daring to have the *Taly*, with this image, suspended from their necks. *And, lest wives should seem not to be married, they may use another Taly, with the image of the Holy Cross, or of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the most Blessed Virgin, marked on it!*

3. And since the cord of 100 threads, dyed saffron, by which many attach the *Taly*, is not free from superstition, we forbid both the saffron dye, and the said number of threads.

4. The nuptial ceremonies also, according to the customs of the country, are so many, and defiled by so much superstition, that no safer remedy could be devised than to interdict them altogether: for they overflow with the pollutions of Heathenism, and it would be extremely difficult to expurge from them that which is superstitious.

The Legate then enjoins the Missionaries to extirpate from these ceremonies, everything that savoured of superstition; such, for instance (*"besides the abuses they had already reformed"*), as the twig of the *Arasu* tree, which is emblematic of the Hindu Trinity, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*; the circlelets for averting misfortune; the seven vessels filled with earth, in which rice must be growing about two inches high, emblematic of the seven planetary gods; and the dishes, containing rice, betel, &c., all dedicated to superstition. But as to these last, by changing the *number* of the vessels and dishes, and filling them with food of a different description, he thinks some latitude may be allowed! Truly it was not for nothing that the Cardinal reproached himself afterwards so bitterly.

\* Bartholomeo, describing *Ganesa* or *Pollyar*, says, "Indian women who are married, wear an *image of this deity*, which they call *Taly*, suspended from their neck by a string."—*Voyage*, &c. page 71. See also his "*Systema Brahmanicum*," page 175.

The almost incredible idolatry and superstition that characterized Christian marriages will be found fully detailed by Norbert, in his *Memoires Historiques*, Besançon. Tome 2, pp. 232-241, or in the Lucca edition, Tome 3, pp. 14-27.

The next section forbids the superstitious breaking of the cocoa-nut; but actually allows the very practice it condemns, provided it be done *privately*! Then follows an absolute condemnation of the conduct of the Missionaries, who would not permit women "*menstruali morbo laborantes*," to go to Church or confession, yet celebrated its first appearance by a public festival which is denounced in the strongest language as "*obsœna consuetudo, a Gentilium impudentiâ inducta*." On their treatment of the *Pariahs*, he is especially severe, and cuttingly rebukes the Christian Spiritual Physicians, who would not enter a Pariah's door, even to administer extreme unction, while the Heathen doctors never scrupled to attend them, when they were dangerously ill. He then proceeds:

Non sine maximo animi nostri morore accepimus, etiam Christianos tympanorum pulsatores, tibicines, aut alterius cujuscunque musici instrumenti sonatores, ad Idolorum festivitates et sacrificia accersiri ad ludendum, et interdum etiam cogi, ob quamdam servitutis speciem erga Publicum, ab ipsis, contractæ, per hujusmodi artis exercitium; nec facile esse Missionariis, eos ab hoc detestabili abusu avertere: quocirca considerantes, quam gravem rationem essemus Deo reddituri, si hujusmodi Christi fideles, a Demonorum honore et cultu, pro viribus non revocaremus; illis prohibemus, &c. Ideoque Missionarii, non solum eos monere tenebuntur de prefata prohibitione, verum etiam illam omnino executioni demandare, et contrafacientes ab ecclesiâ expellere, donec ex corde resipiscant et publicis penitentiae signis patratum scandalum emendaverint.

We have learned with the greatest sorrow also, that *Christians*, who can beat the drum, or play on the flute, or other musical instruments, are invited to perform, during the festivals and sacrifices in honour of idols, and *sometimes* even compelled to attend, on account of some species of obligation supposed to be contracted towards the public by the exercise of such a profession: and that it is by no means easy for the Missionaries to turn them from this *detestable abuse*; wherefore, considering how heavy an account we should have to render to God, did we not strive with all our power to recall such Christians as these, *from the honouring and worshipping of Devils*, we forbid them, &c.

The Missionaries also shall be held bound not only to acquaint them with the aforesaid prohibition, but also to insist on its entire execution, and to expel from the Church all who disobey, until they repent from the heart, and by public marks of penitence expiate the scandal they have caused.

In like manner the Heathen ablutions and superstitious bathings, at set times, and with certain ceremonies, are absolutely prohibited to all, and more especially to the preachers of the Gospel, whatever pretence they allege, were it even to pass themselves

off as *Saniassis*, who are distinguished by their manifold and multiplied washings, “ut existimentur *Sanias*, seu Brachmanes “præ ceteris dediti hujusmodi ablutionibus.” He prohibits also the use of the ashes of cow’s dung, and all marks on the forehead, chest, and other parts of the body, so common among those “most superstitious Hindus.” Finally, he declares that the penalties for non-observance of this decree shall be excommunication for the superiors of the mission, and suspension *a divinis* in the case of individual Missionaries.

This goodly catalogue, however, is far from including all the scandals which disgraced the miserable (so called) Christianity of Madura.

What concerns Romanism chiefly, we have passed over: and Cardinal de Tournon is careful to let it be known that “*much* “perhaps that needed reformation might have escaped his “notice, and that several things he had purposely left undecided, “as requiring more mature consideration.” Will it be believed that in these deeps there was still a lower deep? Passing over the unadulterated Heathenism of their funeral rites, the innumerable superstitions that disgraced their nuptial ceremonies, and the disgusting details of that scandalous ceremonial, which was well termed “the festival of immodesty and wantonness;” we shall lay before our readers a specimen of the *prayers*, which accompanied the ablutions and anointings which the Christians of Madura loved so well. It is very probable that many of the poor creatures did not know the meaning of the words they used: but what shall be said of their teachers, who knew the truth, yet permitted and sanctioned the most daring and gross idolatry? The ashes of cow’s dung are consecrated to the Goddess *Lakshmi*, and are supposed, when applied to the body, to cleanse from sin. These ashes were used by the Christians of Madura. The Catechist, or Missionary, laid them upon an altar, on which stood an image of the Virgin, or a Crucifix; they were then consecrated, and distributed to the neophytes in the shape of little balls. What followed, we extract from a report drawn up by the Capuchins for the purpose of showing the identity of the Heathen ceremonies with those of the Madura converts:—and it is but justice to the Missionaries of that order, to acknowledge that they uniformly avoided and denounced these scandalous compromises, and that their standard of Christian principle seems to have been higher and purer even than that which found favour at Rome. But we return to the neophytes of the Jesuits, and their burnt cow’s dung. “When they rub it on the head and forehead, they say “*neruchiguron netchada shiven*, that is, may the God *Shiva* be

“within my head! When they rub it on the chest, they say “*Manu Rudren*, i. e., may the God Rudren be in my breast! “When they apply it to the neck, they say *Maya Ishuren*, May “Ishuren be in my neck; and when to the shoulders, they say “*Tolbairaban*, May Bhairab be in my shoulders!”

In like manner there is a distinct God, and a distinct invocation, for the arms, the ears, the eyes, the groin, the back, the stomach, the legs, knees, and feet; and “they conclude all these “fine invocations, by putting a little of the ashes in their mouths, “and saying *condadu mireum kuripu adulane*; that is, by this “last action I declare that all is finished as it ought to be.”—*Memoires Historiques, Luques*, 1745. Tome 3, pp. 29-30.

Excepting among the Jesuits, there could not surely be found throughout the world a Christian Missionary, who would not have hastened to disclaim with horror and indignation the practices denounced by the Legate De Tournon, and to aid with all his powers in their instant suppression. The Fathers of Jesus hastened indeed to De Tournon, but it was to entreat, to beseech, to implore him, to recall his censures, to sanction every thing he had condemned, and to compel the Capuchins and every Romanist in India to adopt the whole of these devilish practices in all the grossness of their abomination. The too complaisant Patriarch yielded so far as to suspend the execution of his decree for three years, in order to give time for a gradual reform;—a weakness, which caused him afterwards many a bitter moment; but further than this he would not go, remaining inexorable to all their entreaties, and determined that his decree should be fulfilled to the letter.

It became therefore Father Tachard to be doing, and he lost not a moment in sending round among the Missionaries under his charge a circular, of which the following is a *precis* :—

I.—Is the frequent use of ashes (burnt cow's dung) necessary for the Christians of these Missions? *They answered in the affirmative.*

II.—As the *Pariahs* are looked upon in a civil light as so despicable that it is almost impossible to describe how far the prejudice against them is carried, ought they to assemble in the same place, or in the same Church, with other Christians of a higher caste? *They answered in the negative.*

III.—Are the Missionaries obliged to enter into the houses of the *Pariahs* to give them spiritual succour, while there are other means of arriving at the same end, as is remarked elsewhere? *They answered in the negative.*

IV.—Ought we in the said missions to employ spittle in conferring the sacrament of Baptism? *They answered in the negative.*

V.—Ought we to forbid the Christians to celebrate these brilliant and joyous *fetes*, which are given by parents, when their young daughters “ont pour la première fois la maladie des mois?” *They answered in the negative.*

VI.—Ought we to forbid the custom observed at marriages of breaking the cocoa-nut? *They answered in the negative.*

VII.—Ought the wives of the Christians to be obliged to change their *Taly*,\* or nuptial cord? *They answered in the negative.*

But the bare signature of this creditable document did not seem to Father Bouchet a sufficient atonement for his former want of adroitness: he backs it by a solemn oath.

“I, John Venant Bouchet, Priest of the Society of Jesus and Superior of the Carnatic Mission, do testify and *swear on my faith as a Priest*, that the observance of the rites, as set forth in the preceding answers, is of the greatest necessity to these missions, as well for their preservation, as for the conversion of the Heathens. Further, it appears to me that the introduction of *any other* usage, contrary to these, WOULD BE ATTENDED WITH EVIDENT DANGER TO THE SALVATION OF THE SOULS OF THE NEOPHYTES. Thus I answer the Reverend Father Superior General, who orders me to send him my opinion as to these rites, and to confirm it by my oath: for assurance and faith of which I here sign my name. Signed Novr. 3d, 1704, in the Mission of the Carnatic, *Jean Venant Bouchet.*”

Fathers Peter Mauduit, Philip de la Fontaine, Peter de la Lane, and Gilbert le Petit, took the same oath, and attested it by their signatures; and after like fashion, swore all the Portuguese Jesuits in Madura and Mysore.—*Memoires Historiques, Laques*, 1745. Tome 3, pp. 8-10.

Thus the Reverend Fathers publicly, solemnly, and deliberately make oath, that, in these missions the religion of Christ must necessarily be joined to the idolatry of the Heathen, and that the introduction of Christianity, alone, and in its purity, would be fatal to the salvation of souls!

In the meantime the decree of the Legate had reached Rome, where it was confirmed by Clement XI. in January 1706, who, after praising the zeal and prudence of the Patriarch, ordered, that, until otherwise determined by the Apostolic See, “*exacte observari debeant ea omnia, quæ in Decreto supradicto fuerunt “ab ipso præscripta,”* i. e. “every thing was to be strictly observed, which had been ordered by him in the foresaid Decree.”

Nor were the Jesuits idle: for, first they despatched to Rome Fathers Lainez and Bouchet, with the memorable document to which we have already referred, to plead their cause in Europe.

\* In juxtaposition with this 7th question and answer, let the reader weigh the following extract from the Brief of Clement XII., issued under the ring of the Fisherman, Aug. 24th, 1734, “*quamvis asserunt Missionarii, nunquam permisisse gestationem dicti Taly,*” that is, Although the Missionaries assert that they have NEVER permitted the wearing of the said Taly!!

In the mean while, they stirred up the Archbishop of Goa to deny the authority of the Legate, to suspend the execution of his decree, and to forbid its observance to all the Christians of India. The Pope, scandalized and grieved by such conduct, instantly issued an indignant declaration, that the edict of the Archbishop was from the beginning rash and presumptuous, void, worthless, and of none effect; and the Archbishop, thoroughly frightened, submitted for the present. So this shaft fell wide of the mark.

Their next manœuvre is remarkable for its singularity. To the astonishment of every one, the Council of Pondicherry passed an Act, condemning as abusive the decree of M. De Tournon, and forbidding its observance! The answer to this was a pastoral letter, addressed by him, to the Christians of Pondicherry, from his prison in Macao, dated 13th October, 1709. In this letter he reminds the Magistrates of Pondicherry, that things spiritual did not lie within their province, beseeches them not to be led away by seducers from their obedience to the Holy See, and threatens with the thunders of the Church every Christian, whether lay or ecclesiastical, who persisted in disobedience. The Act was also annulled by the Pope in 1811.

Not long after, this distinguished prelate, who had been elevated in the meanwhile to the dignity of Cardinal, perished in the dungeons of Macao, into which he had been thrown by the Chinese at the instance of the worthy Fathers, who at first fawned upon him, and who, when the cunning of the fox availed not, never failed to display the ferocity of the wolf. Who were the real authors of this tragedy may be easily gathered from a letter to the Jesuits of Peking, which was written by the Cardinal himself in 1707. The following is an extract:—

"Night and day I shed tears before God, not less for the distressed state of the mission, than on account of those who are the causes of its affliction: for, if I knew not the cause of the evil, and the authors of it, I might endure all more cheerfully. The Supreme See has condemned your practices: but much more to be detested is *that unrestrained licence, with which you strive to bury your shame under the ruins of the Mission!* You have not lent your ears to salutary counsel; and now you betake yourselves to means that cause horror (*modo ad horrenda confugitis*)."

And he adds, with a prophetic anticipation of the result,

"What shall I say? woe is me! The cause! is been determined, but the error continues; the Mission will be destroyed sooner than it can be reformed."—Tome 1, p. 268.

It will not have been forgotten, that Fathers Lainez and Bouchet had been sent on a mission to Rome, for the purpose of overturning the decision of Cardinal De Tournon, and pro-



curing a new bull in their own favour. Lainez had been promoted to the Bishoprick of St. Thomas ; and he and his colleagues in iniquity returned to India, there to exhibit, to the astonished public, their crowning act of audacious wickedness. Bishop Lainez declared that they had gained their cause, and that the Pope had decided in their favour ; and Father Bouchet, says Norbert, on a day when the exposition of the sacrament had drawn together a great concourse of French and native Christians in their church at Pondicherry, “ came forward in his sacerdotal robes, and, *calling to witness the body and blood of Jesus Christ, boldly protested before God*, that of a truth he had obtained “ from the lips of the Pope himself an express declaration, that “ the decree of the Cardinal De Tournon was in no wise binding, “ and that the Missionaries, without offence of conscience, might “ permit the practice of the ceremonies which the Legate had “ condemned, because, so doing, they might the more easily “ convert the Heathens to the faith !” (Tome 3, p. 320.) In like manner writes Bishop Lainez to Father Esprit, the Superior of the Capuchins, “ Another thing which you are perhaps ignorant “ of, my Reverend Father, because it has recently occurred, and “ which puts an end to every suspicion connected with these “ censures, is an oracle (oral deliverance) of the Supreme “ Pontiff Clement XI., which has been brought before me a “ few days ago, and which I shall publish in due time, regarding the permission of the rites and customs which are practised “ in the Missions of the Society, and which facilitate the conversion of the Heathen. This oracle is so far from prohibiting the using of the ashes, that it orders the continuance of “ their use in the Missions, because it facilitates and increases “ conversions to Christianity. *This I can attest, for it was I who managed the business at Rome, and spoke of it to the Sovereign Pontiff, who left me not a doubt on the subject, and consequently all who think otherwise are in error.*”

But what if this were an infamous lie ? What, if apostolic Father Bouchet were guilty of deliberate perjury ? You reject the bare possibility as, under all the circumstances, something too monstrous for belief.

But listen to Father Timothy de la Fleeche, who writes, that, when he went to the Pope to learn from his own lips whether he had indeed given such permission, his Holiness at once took fire, and used almost these very words :—

“ **FATHER BOUCHET IS A LIAR**, and nothing is less true than the story he dares to publish : far from going away triumphant and comforted, he retired mortified and grieved to the last degree, at not being able to obtain anything from us. He indeed did all he could to make us revoke the decree

of our Legate: but having shown him that it was confirmed by the Congregation of the Holy Office, and made him understand that no change would be made in it, and that the Holy See would never approve of rites so scandalous as those which the Fathers of his Society caused to be observed by their Christians in India, nor ever allow them to be practised, the Reverend Father, having no longer any hope of success in that for which he came to Rome, took leave of us," &c.

Bishop Lainez indeed rejects this testimony on the weighty ground of its being an atrocious insult to his Holiness, because the reigning Pope was far too *polite* to call a Clergyman a liar! However, the matter was set at rest by a Brief from the Pope himself, dated Sept. 17th, 1712, and addressed to the Bishop of St. Thomas, stating that he had heard of such a report with great sorrow of mind, and that it had no foundation: and in a letter addressed to M. de Visdelou, Bishop of Claudio-polis, Cardinal Sacripanti, Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, incloses for his perusal a copy of the original acts of the Congregation of the Holy Office. "They will show you," writes he, "that the report you have heard in your countries, announcing the suspension, or annulling of the decrees of the Cardinal de Tournon, Visitor Apostolic, of happy memory, is false, and without the slightest foundation." (*Norbert, Lucca Edition. Tome 1, pp. 319-361.*)

We shall offer no comments; for nothing can add to the infamy of such wickedness on the part of Christian Ministers.

We must now turn from the tragedy to the comedy (if such it may be called) of iniquity. The worthy Fathers were now desperately hard pushed; and they had recourse to a new stratagem. They declared that the Pope had been misinformed as to the facts on which his decision was grounded; and they produced a document, signed by many Malabar Christians, and three of the most learned Pundits in French India, attesting that the rites were all mere civil observances! The Capuchins amazed (as well they might be) by such a declaration, had these learned Brahmins summoned before the Judges of Pondicherry, and there publicly and judicially examined by M. de Lorme, the Secretary of Council, the Capuchins not being allowed to interfere.

One of these most learned Brahmins (*peritissimi Brachmanes*) declared that a certain Jesuit (whose name he mentioned) had given him a paper to sign, and asked him to procure a few more signatures from his friends: but as to the rites, all that he had said on the subject, was, that undoubtedly they were of a religious nature. Another of the three Brahmins was a friend, who happened to be in his house, and who had signed to do him a pleasure.

The third worthy declared that he had signed the paper, because he was told it was of no consequence, "but, sir," added he, "it is not my own name I have put there; it is the name of my grandfather!!" But alas! this comedy ended in blood. The Capuchins, by the assistance of *Naniapa*, the Company's broker, had four Brahmins, really learned and able men, publicly examined by the same judges, and the result was the most unequivocal evidence of the superstitious nature of the rites. The Jesuits answered, as they have done but too often: for they gave complaisant Governor Hebert no rest until poor *Naniapa* was publicly whipped, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon, out of which he never came alive. One evening the sergeant of the guard came to acquaint M. Hebert that the poor creature was vomiting blood.—"Well, what then?" was his brutal reply, "What business is that of yours? *Let him burst?*" For this atrocious judicial murder, Hebert was recalled, and died in contempt and disgrace; and the heirs of *Naniapa* were ennobled by the French King. They needed indeed to be wary and powerful, who in those days entered the field against the Society of Jesus!\*

In vain Clement XI. issued brief after brief; in vain they were branded by Rome in 1714, as "alike obstinate and impudent;" they firmly held to their beloved rites, and practised them as devoutly as ever. But we must hasten to a close.

The Brief of Clement XI., sealed with the ring of the Fisherman, Sept. 30th, 1719, again insists upon the observance of Cardinal De Tournon's decrees, and enjoins the Bishop of Claudiopolis to use his utmost efforts to have them fulfilled to the letter. It was in vain.

The Brief of Pope Benedict XIII., dated 12th November, 1727, wherein it was written, "Following in the footsteps of our predecessor (Clement XI.) we also confirm the decrees of the said Patriarch of Antioch, and in like manner command and enjoin that they be obeyed and observed," had precisely the same result. The Jesuits paid no attention to it, and went on, as they had done before.

Under the Pontificate of Clement XII. they had sufficient influence at Rome to procure a revision of the Cardinal's decrees; but (alas for them!) the result was the Papal Brief, *Compertum*

\* Their *practice* in this matter we will not enter on here; but their *doctrine* may be learned from one of their own authors. "It will be lawful for an ecclesiastic, or one of a religious order to kill a calumniator who threatens to spread atrocious accusations against himself or his religion, when other means of defence are wanting."

Francisci Amici Cursus Theologici, Tomus, V. Disp. 36, Sect. 5, n. 118, Duaci. 1642.

*exploratunque*, issued under the ring of the Fisherman, 24th August, 1734.

This famous Brief (with a few slight modifications in matters that relate to the rites of the Roman Church, such as insufflation, and the use of the spittle in Baptism) confirms anew the decrees of the Cardinal De Tournon, as well as the Briefs of Clement XI. and Benedict XIII., and especially and distinctly again forbids every superstitious practice referred to in Tachard's documents, and supported by the oaths of his associates, as well as those already quoted from the Legate's decree. But, as the Fathers still continued obstinate in their rebellion, the same Pope five years afterwards issued another Brief, dated 13th May, 1739, insisting on instant submission, and threatening them, should they persist in their rebellion, with all the thunders of the Vatican. In his wrath he compares them to the mongrel Samaritans, "who feared the Lord, but served their graven images, after the manner of the Gentiles" (2d Kings, xvii. 41): and being thoroughly in earnest, and determined to bring the matter to an issue, he ordered the following oath to be taken by every Jesuit bishop and missionary in India

"I, N. of the order N. or Society of Jesus, sent or designated, as a missionary to the Kingdom or Province of N. in the East Indies, by the Apostolic See, or by my Superiors, according to the powers granted to them by the Apostolic See, obeying the precept of our holy Lord Pope Clement XII., in his Apostolic Letter, issued in the form of a Brief, on the 13th day of May, 1739, enjoining all the missionaries in the said missions to take an oath that they will faithfully observe the Apostolic determination concerning the Malabar rites, according to the tenor of the Apostolic Letter in the form of a Brief of the same our holy Lord, dated 24th August, 1734, and beginning *Compectum exploratunque*, well known to me by my reading the whole of that Brief, promise that I will obey fully and faithfully, that I will observe it *exactly, entirely, absolutely, and inviolably*, and that I will fulfil it *without any tergiversation*; moreover, that I will instruct the Christians committed to my charge according to the tenor of the said Brief, as well in my preaching, as in my private ministrations, and especially the Catechumens before they shall be baptized, and unless they promise that they will observe the said Brief, with its determinations and prohibitions, that I shall not baptize them: further that I shall take care with all possible zeal and diligence, that the ceremonies of the Heathens be abolished, and those rites practised and retained by the Christians, which the Catholic church hath piously decreed. But if at any time (which may God forbid) I should oppose (*that Brief*) either in whole or in part, so often do I acknowledge and declare myself subject to the penalties imposed by our holy Lord, whether in the Decree, or in the Apostolic Letter, as above, concerning the taking of this oath, in like manner well known to me by reading the whole thereof. *Thus touching the Holy Gospels, I promise, vow, and swear: so may God help me, and these God's Holy Gospels!* Signed with my own hand, N." The original and the Brief at full length will be found, *Memoires Historiques*, Tome 2, p. 465, &c.

What can be clearer than the purport of this oath? What more solemn than its sanctions? It was taken by every Jesuit missionary in India; and (horrible to relate) not one even pretended to observe it.

Staggered by such universal and unblushing perjury, we require to be reminded that, as we have already seen, mortal sin is in certain cases permitted by the Constitutions of the Society; or, if we search for something more immediately applicable, Busembaum is ready with a very similar case in his "Marrow of Moral Theology," as quoted in Ranke's History of the Popes, vol. ii, p. 101. "Qui exterius tantum juravit," writes this Jesuitical casuist, "sine animo jurandi, non obligatur, nisi forte ratione scandali, cum non juraverit, sed luserit," that is, The man who makes oath outwardly, without in his mind intending it to be an oath, is not bound by it, *unless perhaps to avoid scandal*, for he has not sworn: he did but jest.

As the matter, however, was too serious for jesting, the worthy Fathers adopted a more ingenious explanation. Pope Clement XII. attached his own meaning to the oath: there was nothing to hinder them doing the same: so they merely broke it according to his interpretation, but kept it according to their own! And for this, too, there was no want of authority: for says the learned Jesuit, Emmanuel Sa—"Lastly, since you are not bound to swear according to the meaning of the inquirer, you may *according to your own*; which some deny, affirming that words which are *absolutely false* are not excused by such an understanding of intention. There are learned men *in favour of either opinion*, who maintain it on either side with probability." Aphorismi confessariorum, verbo *Juramentum n.* 6. *Coloniæ*, 1590.

Pope Clement died next year; and the Malabar rites continued to flourish.

A few years later, the learned and energetic Benedict XIV. once more interfered, with a vigour and determination of purpose, that were neither to be evaded nor opposed: and he did not spare the Fathers of the Society. His Bull on the Chinese Rites (*Ex quo singulari*,) dated July 11th, 1741, somewhat oversteps the cautious and measured line of Romish policy, when deciding internal disputes: for, provoked and wearied out by their daring obstinacy in evil, he brands them as (inobedientes, contumaces, captiosi, et perditii homines) "disobedient, contumacious, crafty, and reprobate men;" which, it may be observed, is rather a singular comment on their oath of special obedience to the Pope in missions.

A year or two afterwards appeared his celebrated Brief on

the Malabar Rites, the last and the best of the long series called forth by these abominations.

Resolved to spare no pains in dis severing for ever the worship of Christ from the worship of devils, and to put an end to those unholy artifices and impostures which for a century and a half had scandalized Christendom, he not only made the provisions of this Brief (*Omnium sollicitudinum*) so precise and stringent that even Jesuitical ingenuity could hardly evade them, but he ordered the Brief itself to be read every Sunday in their congregations, and insisted that all their converts should promise to submit to its requisitions.

And now every resource failed them, and they saw themselves constrained to yield a sullen and reluctant, and yet but apparent obedience.

At the very same time, in consequence of the wars between the French and the English, it was discovered by the Natives that the far-famed Roman *Santiassies* were nothing other than Feringees after all. The discovery of the fraud enraged and disgusted the heathens, and put an immediate stop to conversions; and when the "angels" of Madura found the least restraint laid upon the practice of their favourite superstitions, they rushed by crowds into apostacy;—if that can be called apostacy, which was but the more open profession of an idolatry, from which they had never emerged, except in name.

Twenty years later, and soon after the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the natives, who still professed to be Christians, and who must, therefore, have constituted the *élite* of the Madura mission, are described by Fra Bartolomeo, as living in the lowest state of superstition and ignorance. The account he gives of their morals, especially those of the Catechists and native clergy, is literally too gross for transcription. The evidence of the Abbé Dubois is not a whit more favourable. In his celebrated letters are to be found instances of superstition and ignorance scarcely exceeded even in the reign of the Jesuits; and he makes (p. 63) the frightful admission, that "during a period of *twenty-five years* that I have familiarly conversed with them, lived among them as their religious teacher and spiritual guide, I would hardly dare to affirm that I have *anywhere* met a sincere and undisguised Christian!"

The final result of this singular and disgraceful contest we shall extract from a continuation of the Church History of Berault Bercastel, by M. L'Abbe, and Comte de Robiano, Tome 1, pp. 197, 198. More surprising, or less satisfactory, it could not well be; but here at least the Jesuits are not the offending parties.

"In order, therefore," writes M. de Robiano, "to take away every pretext for tergiversation, Benedict XIV. issued the Bull *Omnium sollicitudinum*, in which, as he had done before in his Bull on the Chinese Rites, he recited all that had passed on the matter, cleared up every disputed point, explained and confirmed the modifications made by Clement XII., and left nothing undone in order to put an end to the disputes, in regard to the Malabar Rites. Nevertheless, a leaven of discord always remained between the Jesuits and the other missionaries, and the latter reproached the former for not observing the Bull *honestly*. This division continued even after the dissolution of the Society, when the Malabar mission was entrusted to the Bishop of Tabraca, and the missionaries of the Seminary of Missions at Paris. At that time the Holy See was again consulted on the subject of the Rites, and the answer was that they were allowed, at least for the present, *to practice whatever seemed tolerable, and according to former custom.*"

Such were the rise, progress, and decay of the Jesuits' missions in Southern India. The sketch is plain, but faithful; and, every fact, even every assertion, is substantiated by Papal Briefs, or public and accredited documents, or the published statements of the parties themselves. These statements cannot be set aside as the offspring of party spirit or Sectarianism. The facts and the evidence on which they rest are both before the reader, and we court and challenge the closest further investigation. The abominable practices which we condemn have been already denounced and condemned by five Popes, by the Congregation of the Holy Office, by the General of the Jesuits, by many eminent Cardinals and Bishops, and by whole bodies of Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics; and their honest indignation, and their horror of such vileness and infamy, have been expressed in much stronger language than we have ventured to transcribe. So far, indeed, as we are aware, there is nothing in these pages to which a conscientious Roman Catholic might not give his willing assent. Not a single Protestant writer is quoted; not a single doubtful authority is adduced. Else it might seem incredible that such things were allowed to exist; that Rome had submitted to be bearded and contemned for more than a century by "the sworn slaves of the Pope:" and that iniquity and crime had soared to such a pitch of audacity. We abhor even to think of the holy name of Christ, and the awful purity of his religion, in connection with things so detestable; for surely the mission of Madura, built on perjury and fraud, given over to superstition, and where

every chord of falsehood was touched by a master's hand, vindicates for its author no other than the Father of Lies.

There is yet one other department, in which the reverend Fathers distinguished themselves, to which we can here but briefly allude. The celebrated *Ezour vedam* is a curious and most skilful attempt to impose a forgery upon the Brahmins, as one of the oldest and most sacred books of their own religion.—"It is easy to see," says Sonnerat, "that the author wishes to bring everything back to the Christian religion, leaving however several errors, lest the missionary might be detected under the Brahminical mantle." The worthy missionary is however, quite impartial, for he is every whit as willing to corrupt Christianity as Hinduism, and to alter, interpolate, mangle, and pervert both alike, provided he thinks it likely to serve his own purpose. The real writer is unknown; but there is no one to dispute with the Jesuits the honours of its paternity. It is impossible, indeed, that a work professing to be *bonâ fide* Brahminical, yet under a veil striving to pave the way for Christianity, and exhibiting consummate knowledge of the Hindu language, religion, and manner of thinking, could have come from any other source. It seems, however, to have been better fitted for deceiving the *savans* of Paris, and among others the brilliant Voltaire, than for winning credit among those for whom it was designed: nor is there the slightest evidence to show, that the forged *vedam* had even the poor merit of being temporarily successful. A full account, by Mr. Ellis, of this extraordinary production of Jesuitical ingenuity, and one or two others of a similar nature, will be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiv.

Was there, it may be asked, anything which these men held sacred? was there anything so holy that they feared to lay upon it a sacrilegious hand? Mingling light with darkness, confounding evil and good, loving falsehood rather than truth, would they dare to tamper with the word of the living God? Would they bring forward their own lying devices as the word of his inspired Apostles? "The History of Christ" in Persian will answer these questions.

This impious production was written by the Jesuit, Geronimo Xavier, the nephew of the great missionary, at the request of Akbar the Great, early in the 17th century, and, together with "The History of Peter" from the same mint, was printed at Leyden with the Elzevir types in 1639, accompanied by a literal Latin translation, and many learned and useful notes from the pen of Ludovicus de Dieu. The preface is as follows:—

"I, his servant, Jerome Xavier, a European of the Society of Jesus at the



command of him, who is the Emperor of the world, the bountiful Prince, the splendid of Soul, the Darius of his age, Jelaladin, the Akbar (greatest) of monarchs, whose kingdom and dominion may God perpetuate, have compiled this venerable book, the essence of beatitude, *from the holy Gospel and other books of the Prophets*, at Agra, the seat of the Khalifate: and my Master, Abdel Senarem Kasim, of Lahore, has translated it, by my consent, in the same Agra, the seat of the Khalifate," &c.

He commences (after a short introduction) with a legendary account of the nativity of the Virgin Mary and the miracles that preceded and followed it; of her wonderful bringing up in the temple, and of the vow she made there of perpetual virginity, which was the first that was ever made by a woman, and drew towards her the especial favour of God. He then relates how Joseph was designated as her husband by the miraculous flowering of his staff, and how they ever lived as brother and sister, for which reason, and not on account of his years, Joseph is always represented as an old man with a flowering staff. At p. 30, Mary's personal appearance is thus described:—"Mary was a girl of middle stature, of the fairest "brunette complexion, and of a small face. Her eyes were "large, and almost sky blue. She had golden hair. Her "hands and fingers were long; her figure beautiful and well "proportioned; her voice was pleasing; her looks modest and "graceful; her apparel poor but clean. Altogether there was "such a glory and majesty in her appearance, that the wicked "man who happened to look upon her was struck with astonish- "ment, and, retiring within himself, reformed and became a "new man."

But not content with introducing innumerable legends like these, upon the alleged authority of the gospels and prophets, he does not scruple to deal in the following manner with the scripture narrative itself. After relating how Gabriel came down from heaven with a numerous attendance of angels to announce to Mary the birth of Jesus; and, *how he left the others outside*, and went in alone to wait upon her, the narrative proceeds,—

"The Virgin was occupied with thoughts like these, when suddenly the angel Gabriel entered through the door in the form of a young man, of a fair countenance, in clean robes, and full of light and glory: *he fell upon his knees*, and, bending his eyes to the ground, devoutly saluted her and said, 'Peace be to thee, O thou full of grace: the Lord be with thee, thou blessed among women.' The Virgin was astonished at what she saw and heard, and thought within herself what manner of salutation is this! This astonishment was not because she had seen and heard an angel, *for she had often seen angels before*: but because she saw the humility and submission which he had exhibited in that speech, and because she heard the words which he had addressed to her with such reverence."—(P. 34.)

"After several hours had passed, exactly at midnight, the holy Virgin falling on her knees, and bowing her head towards the ground, with her

hands joined before her breast, her eyes full of tears, and with the greatest submission and lowliness, said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to thy word. *As soon as she had thus consented, Gabriel, with the utmost joy, disappeared from before her.*"— (p. 40.)

At p. 73, we are informed, always on the same authority, that the people of Rome having resolved to adore Augustus Cæsar as a God, he, being averse to their wishes, called the Sibyl before him, and asked her, if there was on earth any being greater than himself. Upon which she showed him a golden circle round the sun, in the midst of which stood a virgin of exquisite beauty, with an infant in her arms; and, turning to him she said, That infant is greater than thee. On that day, Christ was born! A voice too was heard saying, "This is the altar of Heaven." And to put the matter beyond dispute, on the site of the very palace where this vision was seen, stands a church of the Franciscans, which to this day is called Santa Maria, the altar of Heaven (*Ara Dei*). Could the great Akbar doubt any longer?

Nor does this wretched man fear to tamper with the words of the blessed Redeemer—"And Christ said to Simon, Simon, 'behold the devil hath desired to sift thee like wheat; but 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail; and, 'when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren. He 'himself explained this saying, and *said*, Never shall the faith 'of Peter fail, *who is my first successor*, and his work shall be 'to strengthen others!'"

But when we turn to the consummation on Calvary, to that mighty catastrophe on which hung the salvation of mankind, to the thrilling words of men inspired of God, sublime, pathetic, but solemn, pure, and majestic, and find that a man, with even the name of Christian, in the full flow of *that* narrative, can stop to tell us of his Longinus, and Veronica, and three folds of cloth with the printed face of the Saviour still to be found rotting at Rome, and Jaen, and Milan, and such like, the very garbage of superstition, who would not fling the book away with horror and loathing? Never could superstition appear more degrading to human nature: never did falsehood appear more odious in the holy presence of truth.

The history of Peter, with a groundwork of truth and scripture, contains a like congeries of legends and lies, rejected by the church of Rome as a body, and by all her most eminent writers, and, by a curious felicity in falsehood, not even correctly borrowed from the authors who report or invent them.

Such has been the course of the Jesuits in India. What it has been elsewhere, may be gathered from the Bull of Clement XIV., which suppressed them. Pope Pius VII. has alleged no other

reason for the restoration of the Society, than the drowning man for grasping at a straw, namely, the danger of refusing "to employ the vigorous and experienced rowers, who *volunteer* "their services, in order to break the waves of a sea which "threatens every moment shipwreck and death." Whether the Society has changed its nature, time will show; if not, the drowning man may yet find, that, in order to keep himself afloat, he has laid hold of the anchor.

A strange and melancholy chapter in the annals of the world are these same missions in India, and not tending, it must be confessed, to lessen the feeling of distrust, so universally inspired by the Society of Jesus, in spite of the zeal, learning, and splendid abilities of many of its members. We have striven to embody its leading incidents in a narrative, which, if not strictly and dispassionately historical, identifies itself with no sect, and contains nothing contrary to the spirit of Catholic Christianity. As common distinctions are lost sight of in the dread of impending danger, so party spirit is absorbed in the very magnitude of the evil. The only triumph is the triumph of Satan, and he never achieved a greater.

Of all the forms of devil-worship, Hinduism is the most gross, and the most cruel; and, as will always be found, the more palpable the darkness, the more stupid the ignorance of the worshippers, so, in exact proportion, the more dreadful are the austerities and tortures which that scoffing and malignant spirit imposes upon them. But it was the very masterpiece of Satanic cunning to bow beneath this rude and galling yoke, not ignorant heathens who knew no better, but enlightened European Christian missionaries, who deliberately descended from the high vantage ground, and surrendered their happiness, their birthright, their truth, their Christian principles to deceive and entrap the unwary, and to live like Hindu *Saniussis*, that is, like something between a beast and a man. We allow them to have been able men, well-born, and highly educated; men of undaunted courage, for during a century and a half they fought against all things, sacred and profane; models for all missionaries in zeal, in devotion to their work, in self-sacrifice, in acquaintance with the languages, manners, and habits of the people; and therefore it is impossible not to lament, and abhor, the accursed policy of which they were the willing victims, and which will render their names and their history, to all succeeding ages, beacons of ruin and disgrace. So will it ever be, when men leave God's ways to follow their own, and seek for other guidance than that Word, which God has given to be "a light unto our feet, and a lamp unto our path."

ART. IV.—1. *Rules and Regulations of the Honourable East India Company's Seminary at Addiscombe, 1834.*

2. *Ditto ditto, 1844.*

3. *The Military Annual, London, 1844.*

4. *Peregrine Pultuney: or Life in India, 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1844.*

At the distance of about a mile from the pleasantly situated little town of Croydon, in snug retirement from the public road, and environed with green fields and magnificent arborage, stands Addiscombe House, formerly the residence of Charles Jenkinson, the first Earl of Liverpool, and now the property of the East India Company. Some of our elder readers may yet remember the aspect of the place in those ancient days, when Pitt and Dundas, and other kindred spirits, beneath that hospitable roof, forgot in conviviality the cares of state, and if contemporary gossip be trustworthy, sometimes forgot themselves.\* It was assuredly a pleasant spot; and the old house, a magnificent specimen of English brickwork, massive but not heavy to look upon, had something in it well calculated to attract the notice of the most careless and apathetic passer by. There was something respectable,—something national in the character of the building, and yet unassuming withal. It was a place fit for the residence of an English statesman, and in those days deemed far in the country—a retired spot, remote from the bustle and noise of the great metropolis. Now that modern science has annihilated space, it seems but in the very suburbs of London.

The old brick building, formerly so much admired, stands as erst it stood, in all its original proportions; but it has been white-washed; and—still worse—encompassed with stacks of buildings of the most unsightly description that human malice could devise. The park has been cut up; but still there are clusters of noble trees, through which may be seen these forbidding heaps of masonry, with their rows of iron-barred windows, filling the stranger, who should find himself in their neighbourhood for the first time, during the lull of a vacation, with wondering curiosity to know with what possible object so many unsightly buildings have been huddled down in so fair a spot.

These excrescences are barracks; studies and store-rooms:

\* More than one story illustrative of Addiscombe revels may be found in the *Rolliad*.

hospitals and other necessary appendages of a military academy—built with the strictest regard to economy and the most utter indifference to architectural display. The old house which has been converted into the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the institution, seems to be ashamed of the disreputable company which has sprung up around it; and the fine old picturesque tree looks sadly out of place in a spot where utilitarianism has been carried almost to the extent of an outrage on civilization.

In these unseemly barracks and study-halls the flower of our Indian army have spent two years—and perhaps not the least happy ones—of their lives. In these barracks and study-halls, they have grown from boys into men. Hundreds of our readers will call to mind, with a daguerreotype fidelity, the white gates; the tall walnut and chestnut trees; the old house or “mansion,” with its flights of steps and its decorous large-lettered inscription; the adjacent wilderness—a sacred grove accessible only to the privileged footsteps of the Addiscombe high priests, vulgarly called corporals—the sunken study court; the clock over the arcade (in those days, how we reckoned by half minutes—how extreme was our penalty-enforced military exactitude!); the rows of barracks with their iron-barred windows and dreary walls, desolate without and comfortless within; the well-weeded parade-ground, dreaded scene of extension motions; and the gymnastic ropes and bars; the heavy Java guns, on which we erst tried the strength of our stripling arms; the cadet-raised field-works; the hospital, whither we betook ourselves when overcome by too much pastry or too much study; the “Cold Stream,” in which we laved our young limbs—all are conjured up visibly and at once by the sight of the word ADDISCOMBE; whilst the memory perhaps, wandering beyond the immediate precincts of the seminary, recalls many a pleasant walk to the Hills of Addington and many a name, dedicated to Friendship carved on their wild trees; or, peradventure, scenes less innocent and romantic—the reeking bowl of punch, in the pleasant parlour of the *Shirley Arms* where the “solitary luxury—the one friend” was even more enjoyable than the *suave scelus* of the steaming liquor; and young heart opened itself out to young heart in unrestrained delightful converse, checked too soon by the sad necessity of paying the reckoning and of running home, with a speed somewhat too provocative of a swimming head, to save the inevitable moment of the seven o'clock parade.

But in reminiscences such as these it is not permitted us to indulge, save to point a most serious moral. We enter upon

our present task as grave reviewers, desiring to avail ourselves of our own youthful experiences to examine, with the calm and searching eye of maturity, the code of laws framed for the institution, which is the military forcing house of the *élite* of the Indian army. We believe that these laws and their influences—not only temporary but abiding influences—upon a large number of our military officers, have seldom or never been considered, save in a light and indifferent spirit, coming lazily to a conclusion that they answer the purpose for which they were intended. The few members of the Court of Directors, who, twice in the year, rattle down to Addiscombe on a duty-trip, and present their venerable faces at the Christmas and Midsummer examinations, see a hundred and fifty smartly dressed active-looking youths, cheerful and seemingly healthy—for what will not the approach of the vacation effect?—go through, with great neatness and precision, a series of military evolutions; reply to a string of formidable mathematical questions, with the promptitude of a senior wrangler; and carry a front of fortification, on the system of Cormontagne, with the skill and address of a veteran general. Contented with seeing things in their best holiday robes, they think that both the military and scholastic discipline of the Institution cannot be improved. They know nothing of the system itself. Perhaps they consider the matter unimportant. We cannot bring ourselves to think it so; for we believe that it is mainly to the imperfect character of the disciplinary regulations of the Institution that many young men owe a departure from rectitude, during the season of their studentship, which impairs both their moral and physical health in a manner which in after life is the source of most poignant regret.

Let us watch the progress of the cadet from the day on which, trembling with nervous anxiety, he journeys down in the glass-coach or post-chaise, attended by his father, or uncle, or elder brother, from London to Addiscombe, there to undergo the dread ordeal of an examination, terrible from its very simplicity. See a fine, healthy boy, who has numbered some fourteen, fifteen, or it may be even eighteen summers, fresh from school, or, perhaps, from the training tutor's, eager for the initiatory experiences of a military life, and, perhaps, swelling with ambition to carry off the great prizes held up for competition. It is possible, we say, that the candidate is a round-cheeked, smooth-faced boy, gentle, modest, and uncontaminated; or a "tall, stont stripling of eighteen," six feet in his boots, with bushy whiskers, and the assurance of a practised man of the world. Gathered together in the hall of Addis-

combe House, on the morning of examination day—the first day of term—may be seen boys of all ages, from fourteen to eighteen, a period embracing an immense variety in character and appearance, a variety suggestive of doubts which we shall briefly notice as we proceed. But first let us make a little use of the work of fiction, the title of which we have given at the head of this article, as being the only work, at least within our knowledge, which attempts to introduce the reader to scenes of cadet life. We believe that the following description has the merit—the only one with which we at present concern ourselves—of fidelity:—

“It was the morning on which young gentlemen, who are candidates for admission into the Company’s seminary, go thither to have their qualifications for that admission put to the test. Most of the young gentlemen were accompanied by their parents or guardians; and felt themselves in as uncomfortable a position as they had ever experienced in their lives. A thing of this kind is nothing at all when it is over; but it is the waiting, and the suspense, and the delay, and the nervousness, that render it a wretched business at best. The extreme easiness of the examination is the worst feature in it, for one cannot help thinking what a disgrace it would be if one got plucked after all. It is nothing to be plucked in Chinese mathematics and Patagonian philosophy; but to fail in vulgar and decimal fractions and Cæsar’s Commentaries, is no joke. Hanging would be a trifle in comparison.

Amongst the number of great coats congregated in the waiting-room, there was a Petersham of no ordinary pretensions to scientific construction—it was as well built an article as you would wish to see, and it covered as pretty a figure. It would be almost superfluous to inform the reader that the Petersham and the figure were Peregrine Pultuney’s.

Perhaps of all the young gentlemen assembled upon this occasion, Peregrine Pultuney was the least embarrassed. It happened fortunately for him that he was rarely troubled with nervous misgivings, and being, as we have before stated, of a philosophic temperament, he always made the best of everything, and consoled himself with wonderful resolution under every dispensation of Providence. So it was, that in the present crisis of affairs, after having satisfied himself thoroughly as to the state of the empire, which he did by the assistance of a *Morning Chronicle*, extracted from the pocket of his Petersham, he began to amuse himself by inspecting the pictorial adornments that graced the walls of the waiting-room. This he did apparently with great complacency; for being the works of different gentlemen-cadets, who had passed out of the seminary, he began to wonder whether he should be able in process of time to daub as well. There was a view of Lows-water, by gentleman-cadet Simpkins, and of Windermere, by gentleman-cadet Smith, which showed very great execution, especially in the live-stock line, for the sheep were marvellously like rolling-stones, and the cows like sacks of potatoes—and the colouring was so ingenious that the hills, being purple and green and blue, reminded you of a shot-silk gown, which everybody must know is a very difficult thing to paint. And then there was the bay of Naples—all cobalt blue—with the boats picked out with a penknife, and the whole thing wonderfully like the paper on the walls of a cigar-divan; and there was a drawing of Milan Cathedral, done by a young gentleman, who not being able to paint without a ruler, a steel-pen, and a pair of compasses, was exceedingly successful in the architectural department, from which he never diverged—and

there were various other specimens of water-colour drawing, all in the same style of green and purple, and boats picked out with a penknife.

Having fully satisfied himself as to both the merits and the characteristics of the Addiscombe school of painting, Peregrine Pultuney, quitting the representative for the real, began to make sundry critical observations, within his own mind, on men and manners. There was abundant food for philosophical and physiognomical speculation within the walls of this waiting-room, and Peregrine Pultuney improved on the opportunity thus presented to him of increasing his knowledge of mankind. Thrusting his hands into the pocket of his Petersham, he leaned his back against the wall, crossed his legs, and looked around him.

There was a stupid-looking boy just before him, with a large mouth and a cadaverous countenance, who was standing not far from Peregrine, intent upon the pages of a brown-covered book, and every now and then looking up, with certain convulsive twitchings of the countenance, into the face of his father—an enlarged likeness of the same—to ask him “the English” of some word or other in the second book of *Cæsar’s Commentaries*. There was a slim boy, too, with a remarkably stout parent, who was lecturing away in great style on the advantages resulting from steady behaviour and conformance with the rules of the institution; and Peregrine laughed within himself as he caught the words “public house,” “cigar smoking,” and “write to your mother.” There was a pretty-looking effeminate boy sitting before the fire, with his elbows on his knees and his chin upon his fists, finding out shapes in the coals, and beside him was a great huge fellow with whiskers, who might have been father of the little boy, but who was nothing but an embryo cadet. Then there were two brothers, both going up, and wondering whether they would pass—and a stont short boy, in a blue cloak with a fur collar, who seemed to be pointing out Peregrine Pultuney to the especial observation of an old gentleman with a good-natured face, who was uncle to the stout boy, who had also a good-natured face; and Peregrine caught the words, “a good looking fellow—isn’t he?” whereupon he smiled complacently, and set down the stout boy as a good judge of things in general.

Besides these, there were a great number of boys, with folio editions of themselves in great coats—“governors,” uncles, and others—some tall and some short, some punchy and some wire-drawn; but there were two things in particular that struck Peregrine Pultuney when he contemplated his future companions, and the first was, that though some of these incipient cadets looked old enough to be captains, there were others who looked as though they would never be big enough for anything but drummer-boys—and the second was, that whether young or old—big or little—captains or drummer-boys, they all looked excessively uneasy; and Peregrine Pultuney did not know which most to wonder at—their inequality in size, or their equality in general wretchedness.”

We stop here to make an observation on the subject of this “inequality in size,” or rather the disparity of years of which this inequality is the visible type. Cadets are, as we have already intimated, admitted to the Addiscombe seminary between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The latitude is too great. We would contract it. We know no similar institution which admits of such disparity in the age of initiation. At the Royal Military College, at Sandhurst, the age of admission ranges between *thirteen* and *fifteen*; at the Military



Academy, Woolwich, *fifteen* is the earliest, and *seventeen* the latest period of admission. At the latter of these, the severity of the initiatory examination is proportionate to the age of the cadet, each succeeding half-year raising the standard of qualification. Now we think that the question of limiting the age of admission to the Addiscombe seminary, is worthy of some consideration at the India House. It is undeniable that there is a vast difference between the feelings, habits, attainments, &c. of a boy of fourteen and a young man of eighteen. There is great disparity even in young people of the same age, one being a man in feeling and intelligence, whilst the other is still puerile in both; but between the ages of fourteen and twenty may range the extremes of childishness and manliness; and it must be obvious that the same disciplinary course cannot be suitable both to the child and the man. What to one may be an undue allowance of liberty, to another is a degrading bondage. We can see nothing to compensate for this. It does not often happen that the destiny of a youth is fixed after the age of sixteen; so that by contracting the span, little or nothing would be lost, either to patronage-seekers or patronage-bestowers, whilst not only from such contraction might result a better adaptation of the rules of the seminary to the requirements of the cadets; but the efficiency of the Indian services be considerably advanced. We would strongly recommend an assimilation to the Woolwich limits. No cadet should enter the seminary before fifteen, nor remain there after nineteen. The closer the affinity of age the better. If one boy can enter the seminary when four years younger than another, he can also enter the service with a four years' start of his cotemporary; and the objections to such inequality are manifest. Nothing is more disheartening to an officer than to find, immediately before him in his regiment, one or two, perhaps more, comrades, several years younger than himself, eternally blocking up the road to promotion, and perhaps entirely depriving him of every chance of attaining the highest prizes of the service. It is, moreover, galling to a man to be commanded by his junior in years, a contingency, which however frequent in the Queen's service, is in the Company's a strictly seniority service, sufficiently rare to be somewhat distressing.

We repeat that we see nothing to compensate for these disadvantages. There are many objections to the Addiscombe system of discipline, military and scholastic, which we shall endeavour to state, as we proceed, in detail; but this is a general objection, which cannot be too strenuously insisted

upon *in limine*, for it must render *any* system inefficient and inoperative for good. Regulations suitable for the restraint and coercion of a boy of fourteen are ill adapted to the more matured character of the young man of twenty; and it is unreasonable to look for the same outward decorum, and the same high principle, in the former as in the latter. An offence comparatively venial in a boy of fourteen may be discreditable, in a high degree, to the man of twenty; and a system which equally visits similar offences in all is, therefore, unjust in its equality, for the punishment is not proportionate to the offence. The difficulty, nay the impossibility of framing one general code suitable to all ages is so obvious, that no one will be surprised to learn that the present disciplinary system is a failure. It is defective at every point; it neither meets one extreme nor the other. Whilst it exacts an amount of military steadiness and decorum from the rough school-boy of fourteen, which it is unreasonable to look for in one so young, it imposes upon the full-grown youth, emerging from his teens, an amount of restraint and coercion, which is not only irksome, but degrading at that more advanced stage of life. The Woolwich limits are sufficiently extended, and we are strongly of opinion that an assimilation to them, in the Addiscombe system, would produce an excellent effect upon general discipline. It is obvious that without some such limitation, no code of regulations can be drawn up which shall not be totally unsuited to a considerable proportion of the cadets.

The dread examination over and the cadet "passed;" his name registered in the books; himself numbered; told off to a certain squad; to a certain mess, and a certain bed in the barracks assigned to him,\* he begins soon to discover the character of the discipline to which he is subjected. He soon finds that the day is divided into very large proportions of study, and

\* The new comers or probationary students are huddled into long rooms containing sixteen or eighteen beds, without any partitions between them. After the first term, the majority are fortunate enough to be removed into long rooms with partition-walls or bulkheads, between the beds; but, during the first term the mischief has been done. The cadets have almost without an exception abandoned the old-fashioned habit of saying their prayers. It is lamentable to see, one by one, even the most religiously educated youths, under the combined influence of ridicule, a sense of singularity, and the feeling of the impossibility of real devotion in the midst of noise and other interruptions, cease to bend a knee to their Creator. All this would be remedied if, on first joining the institution, the cadets were placed in dormitories similar to those which they occupy after the first or second term. It is during the *first* term that it is principally desirable that the cadet, who is placed among strangers in a novel and perhaps trying position, should have a corner, however straitened, into which he can retire for an hour of privacy. When this privilege is granted to him, it is less valuable. We know no reason why all the barracks should not be divided into partitions, unless it be that without the partitions the rooms will hold a few more beds.

very small proportions of recreation. He enters the seminary perhaps, at the commencement of the dreary month of February, and after toiling through the day at long studies, varied by brief intervals of drill, he finds himself emancipated for the first time from this thralldom at night-fall. He is roused at morning by the sound of the bugle; makes a hurried toilet but nevertheless a precise one, for a little fluff on his jacket will condemn him to the registered punishment of extra drill;\* appears on parade, is marched into chapel, thence to study, thence after an hour and a half to breakfast; then comes drill; then study again for four long hours—from nine to one; then dinner; then half an hour of recreation; then two more hours of study; then an hour of drill, and from five o'clock the cadet is permitted to amuse himself till seven; after which come two more hours of study; then chapel again—then *bed*. Now, looking at this appropriation of time, it is obvious in the first instance that the amount of labour and confinement thus imposed upon the cadet is calculated both to injure his health and to impair his faculties; but a more serious objection will have presented itself to the reader. Such a distribution of time is fatal to the morals of the cadets. We all know what, during many months of the year—from October to March inclusive—is an English evening between the hours of five and seven. During the most favourable months, these winter evenings are a dull twilight; during the remainder, they may be described as *thick night*. Now, is it easy to imagine anything worse than a regulation, which fixes those two hours as the only two consecutive hours of the day—nay, we may say the only hours of the day,† during which the cadet is left to himself to follow the bent of his own inclinations? We may spare ourselves the trouble of stating the manifest objections to such a system, for we find them already stated in the novel from which we have drawn a previous illustration:—

“Boys are notoriously very stupid animals, and we suppose that Peregrine

\* Extra drills are almost the only punishments inflicted at Addiscombe—the duration of the infliction, varying from a single day to six weeks, being in proportion to the gravity of the offence. Every punishment is registered, and the drill list frequently consulted by the authorities. We may here remark that the first punishment should never be lightly inflicted. A cadet who has been once on the drill list is indifferent about appearing there again; but the honourable pride which he feels in the knowledge that his name appears above a virgin page in the punishment-book is more cogent to deter from irregularity of conduct than any fear of the simple discomfort of shouldering a musket in play hours. The “first fault” system should be liberally adopted; but it will appear, as we proceed in the text, that no pains are taken to induce the cadets to preserve their own self-respect.

† Besides this time in the evening, *half* an hour for recreation is allowed after breakfast and half an hour after dinner, during which the cadets, for the most part, saunter about the study court, or in winter crowd round the fire.

Pultuney must be classed in this category, for he was heard to say one dark night to Julian Jenks, "Surely we are driven into mischief; they coop us up all day, and let us loose for two hours of recreation, when it is pitch dark. It may be well enough in the summer-time, when we can play a good game at cricket, but what *can* youngsters like us do between five and seven on a winter evening, except get into mischief? We have had enough of reading in the daytime, and who ever sets out for a walk in the dark without some definite object. What wonder is it then, that we should stroll into a public-house and enjoy a comfortable bowl of punch, a good fire, and what is perhaps still better, an hour or two of privacy, which we cannot get within the walls of the institution, packed together as we are like so many dogs in a kennel? And if we do still worse, it is not a matter of much surprise, for we are sent to wander about for amusement, at an hour when darkness favours immorality of every description. Why do they not divide our hours better, and let us amuse ourselves in the full daylight?"

"Because," replied Julian Jenks, answering this last question, "it would very materially interfere with the professors' hours of dining."

"Be it so," said Peregrine Pultuney; "if it were light, I should go and play at foot-ball; as it is dark, I shall go and lush."

"Very good!" cried Julian Jenks, "come along, I'm your man," and the two gentlemen-cadets started off for the Shirley Arms.

They must have been two uncommonly stupid boys, to talk in such a manner as this; but nevertheless they were not thought so either by themselves or their companions. Let it not be thought that we advocate such opinions, for indeed we regard them with unmitigated horror, and see no reason in the world why young gentlemen from fifteen to twenty years of age should not employ themselves between the hours of five and seven on a winter evening, in reading "The Whole Duty of Man," or "Catechisms in Search of a Wife;" or should they have a mechanical turn, they might employ themselves, very profitably, in making pin-cushions to take home to their sisters, or in default of them to their maiden aunts.

But at length Peregrine Pultuney, having spent all his pocket-money, to the great benefit of the excise—having smoked all his cigars, and been twice reported for playing at cards, was driven into such extremes, that after wavering, for some time, between suicide and poetry, he betook himself in despair to the latter."

We most earnestly desire to draw the attention of the Court of Directors, to the very important defect in the disciplinary system at Addiscombe, thus lightly touched upon in the above extract. It may seem a trivial matter, as it is thus set forth in the pages of an ephemeral fiction—but nothing which affects the moral welfare of a large number of immortal beings can be properly regarded as anything less than a matter of the very gravest importance. Apart from the personal interest, which so many members of the Anglo-Indian community must take in the eradication of an evil which exercises, or may some day exercise, so malign an influence over the characters of their own children, there is a common interest which must be felt by every member of the great Christian family whose sympathies are not of the narrowest, in aught that affects the welfare of the immortal souls of their brethren. Now we

merely state what we know to be an undeniable fact, when we say, that the Court of Directors, so long as they perpetuate a system of internal discipline at their military seminary, which keeps the cadet a prisoner during the sunny hours of the day, and emancipates him at night-fall, are responsible for a sad catalogue of grievous sins committed by the students, which, but for the vicious regulations in force at the institution, would not and could not be committed. Instead of rendering the hours of liberty assigned to the cadet a period devoted to healthful recreation, the Addiscombe code, during many months of the year, converts those hours into an interval for the encouragement of juvenile crime—an interval during which, under cover of the darkness, the youth of sixteen indulges in manly vices which enervate the body, and brutalise the mind—and all, that the professors may take their dinners at a more fashionable hour of the day. Drunkenness, and prostitution in its lowest and most filthy aspect, take the place of healthful and innocent relaxation—and the professors are not driven to the barbarism of eating their dinners at three o'clock.

We are far from thinking that the Court of Directors are indifferent to the moral welfare of the youths who enter their service; it rather appears to us that they are ignorant of the evil to which we have referred. We say this the more readily, because we understand that there has recently been some modification of another portion of the disciplinary code, which was well nigh as injurious to the morals of the cadet, as the dark-hour system which we so strenuously deprecate. Some years ago it was permitted to the cadets—once a week—from one o'clock on Saturday afternoon to eleven o'clock on Monday morning, to absent themselves from the Seminary. The privilege was freely granted to every cadet on the production by him of a note of invitation from some relative or friend in the neighbourhood (the neighbourhood including *London*) which was to be given in to the Lieutenant-Governor early on Saturday morning. At one o'clock, as the dinner parade was forming in the Study-Court, the names of the cadets, who had obtained leave, were read aloud by one of the grim squad of non-commissioned officers. Immediately, the emancipated youngsters fell out; proceeded to their barracks; threw off their uniform; brought forth their much-loved plain clothes, perhaps somewhat crumpled and creased by a few weeks' "snug lying," in a trunk or portmanteau of narrow dimensions; stowed away in a carpet-bag two or three changes of linen and a few appliances of the toilet; and in half an hour might be seen arrayed in mufti, in full march to Croydon to catch, if possible, the two o'clock stage; or failing in this,

to obtain a seat behind a chance Brighton coach. All this, at first sight, would appear to be harmless—nay, indeed desirable. That the cadet should thus be afforded an opportunity of occasionally joining the family circle—of enjoying the pleasures and relaxation of home, for a few hours, after many toiling days of severe study—of spending an innocent Sabbath\* and attending divine worship with his own parents—would surely have been a good,—a salutary provision; and, we doubt not, it was with some such intention that the privilege was accorded. But alas! for the optimism of the framers of the code, the privilege in an unfortunately large number of cases, was turned to the worst possible account. The young gentlemen, in many instances—we had nearly written *most*—cared but little about visiting their relatives. Liberty was the one thing desiderated by them; and liberty was but another name for licentiousness. To make his way up to London—to dine at a tavern or a restaurateur's (there was a favourite one kept by a Swiss, named Bertolini, at a house in St. Martin's street, famous as Sir Isaac Newton's, and subsequently inhabited by the Burney family) to eat salmon and lobster sauce, washed down with white Burgundy; to stroll from the restaurateur's to the cigar divan; thence to Drury Lane—

Not for the drama—but the ladies there—

and to wind up the evening, as may be guessed, so that the dawn of the Sabbath saw the young profligate slouching out of some haunt of vice—and the remainder of the day was spent in jaded idleness, equal only to soda-water and Sunday papers, at an hotel, or at a friend's lodgings—these were the substitutes which juvenile ingenuity soon found for the hum-drum visit to the father or the uncle. Nor in this brief sketch has the worst been declared. The first step, which was to prepare the way for all this, was generally a fraud—often a forgery. The privilege of absence from college-bounds for nearly two whole days was, as we have said, only to be purchased by the presentation of a note of invitation from some relative or friend. There was more than one way of getting over this difficulty. The least culpable, perhaps, was that of handing in a genuine

\* And an innocent Sabbath at Addiscombe was something rare. On Sunday, a certain number of cadets were allowed, upon giving in their cards, to be absent from afternoon parade; so that, thus obtaining five or six hours of liberty at a time (a privilege unknown on week-days) they were enabled to proceed to more distant parts of the country—such as Sydenham, Bromley, Norwood, Streatham, &c., and indulge themselves without fear of detection or interruption. Detection, however, frequently came afterwards. Soon after their return to Addiscombe, there was an evening service in the Fortification Hall, which being very full, very confined (purposely, we believe), and very hot, seldom failed to bring to perfection the germs of intoxication.

invitation, which had been declined in answer to the relative or friend, who tendered it; the worst, and we fear the most common, was direct forgery. School-boy morality is not very high-toned; cadet morality is of a lower grade still. The principle appears to be somewhat the same as that contained in the venerable doctrine that "All's fair in war." Constituted authorities are considered as a common enemy; and a crime, which committed against another would be looked upon with loathing, committed against one of the said authorities is regarded rather as an achievement. The cool indifference with which the cadets were wont to forge the name of an uncle, or a grandfather—for themselves or for their friends—was something which appears strange and surprising to us now; but some twelve years ago, under the name of a *fudge*, a forgery was merely treated as a joke. It entered not into our hearts to conceive that there could be any moral or legal enormity in a *fudge*. To go up to London on a *fudge* was a common thing. If there was plenty of cash available, so much the better; if not, there was the pawnbroker. It was a common thing, on a Saturday morning, to hear a cadet, discussing with no little unction the coming visit to town, sum up his available resources in the statement that he had half-a-crown and a gold hunting watch. The half-crown paid his coach-hire to London; and the pawnbroker supplied the rest. It was a standing joke, too, to declare that one was going to visit one's uncle—a relative to whom few of the cadets failed to pay their respects in the course of the term. There was a favorite *annunculus* in the *Strand*, who was wont to ask youthful customers, on Saturday evenings, what was the state of the road to Croydon; and who was generally thought to advance an additional crown or so for his joke. All this was very bad. New comers thought it so; and wondered into what strange place they had been thrown; but the bloom of their finer moral sensibilities was soon wiped off; and the second or third term found them no whit behind their predecessors. The system was responsible for all this. Youths of seventeen and eighteen will indulge themselves, when they can; and if they have no money, but money's worth, to obtain indulgence, they will turn the latter into the former. A privilege so liable to abuse, ought not to have been granted, save under the severest restrictions. The Court of Directors, or the Addiscombe authorities, have become aware of this; and the privilege has been in some degree narrowed. Leave is still obtainable, under certain restrictions, but the fudge-system has been considerably obstructed by the greater vigilance now exercised. It is not, therefore, without hopefulness, that we call their attention to

the still more important defect—more important because it is in daily operation—in the Addiscombe disciplinary system, which we have pointed out in the preceding pages.

It must be added, too, that no great pains are taken at the Seminary to encourage the growth of more honourable feeling. Precept is not wanting; but example is more powerful than precept; and the academical authorities can scarcely expect to generate a high tone of sentiment in the breasts of the cadets, so long as they themselves, under cover of disciplinary necessities, violate all honourable feeling.\* It used to be the fashion to exact from the cadets the decorous propriety of mature manhood, whilst they were being treated as children; but this, preposterous as it was, fell short of the criminal absurdity of pretending to foster honourable and manly feeling in the breasts of the cadets, whilst the college authorities were enforcing a system of underhand meanness, and dishonourable espionage, which could scarcely fail, whilst destroying confidence, to produce disingenuousness and deceit. Wile was met with wile. The cadets would have exhibited an example of superhuman virtue, if they had given, in return for mistrust and suspicion—for a secret and degrading spy system—the manly openness and chivalrous honour which ought to mark, in every stage, the military character. The feelings of the cadets were outraged; their chivalrous sentiments repelled, by the humiliating treatment to which they were subjected. More worthy treatment would have called forth more worthy conduct. The cadets were treated as though they were expected not to behave like gentlemen, and therefore they did not behave like gentlemen. There can be no more fatal error than that which destroys the self-respect of a young person. Now the Addiscombe system, from the first nervous morning on which the cadet enters the institution, to the final examination-day, at the close of which he shakes the dust of the study-court off his feet for ever, is one series of humiliations. At the present time, the expenses of Addiscombe education having been doubled within the last few years, the cadets, we believe, supply their own military uniform. Formerly this was supplied by the Court of Directors. A new suit was furnished by the Company's tailor every half-

\* The military establishment consists of a lieutenant-governor (an officer in the Company's service of the rank of colonel or major-general) a staff-captain, who has the local rank of major; two orderly officers (captains or subalterns in the Company's office, on furlough, whose usual tenor of office is about three terms) and three or four non-commissioned officers. The orderly officers, it is proper to say, are not fairly chargeable with the errors to which we have referred in the text. Their duties are almost entirely parade duties; and they have no authority to meddle with the system in force.



year; so that the cadet had an old and a new suit, the latter being reserved for Sundays. This was all well enough; but as it necessarily happened that the cadets, passing out of the seminary at the end of a term, left behind them so many suits of clothes which had only done Sunday duty, and were therefore in a tolerable state of preservation; these suits, by the exceeding generosity of the Court of Directors, were made to descend to the cadets who entered the Seminary at the commencement of the following term; so that on the very first day of the tyro's enrolment his feelings were outraged—and at no period of life are we more sensitive than in the more advanced stages of boyhood—by an order to indue the old clothes of a by-gone race of cadets. We may once more quote the fiction, from which we have already made an extract or two:—

"Peregrine Pultney, with an expression of uncommon disgust on his handsome intelligent face, then took off his neat little black-silk neckcloth, and tried on an uncouth-looking leather stock, which was given him as a part of his kit. He was then told to suit himself to a pair of military boots, and great was Peregrine's dismay when he saw a heap of strange-looking ankle boots somewhat in the shape of coal-scuttles, and utterly unlike any thing that young gentleman had ever worn before. To try them on was impossible, for not having a boot-jack, how could he dispossess himself of his Wellingtons? so he took the least shapeless pair he could see, for form's sake, not having at the time the most remote idea of ever putting them on; having done which, he made himself master of a blue cap, with a polished leather top, ingeniously contrived so as to concentrate the sun's rays on the apex of his head; and he next took two pair of thick leather gloves, very excellent for hedging and ditching. He had then got all his minor regimental appointments; and was looking out for Mr. Buckmaster or some other army tailor to measure him for a suit of tiger-boy livery, when one of the large men in the sergeant's uniform told him to go and try on some clothes. "Where—what clothes?" cried Peregrine, with astonishment depicted on his features.

"In the next room—I will show you—your military uniform to be sure."

Peregrine did not much like the idea of wearing ready-made clothes; but he followed the sergeant into the adjoining room, where a number of boys of all sizes, some in their shirt-sleeves, and some in their shirt-tails, were trying on coats and trousers, with every symptom of gratification. The sergeant pointed to some pigeon-hole places, where Peregrine saw divers suits of blue uniform turned up with red, and without partaking at all of the general satisfaction that animated his associates, he extracted one of the suits from its lurking-place, and instantly let it fall to the ground, as though a scorpion had stung him. "Why, these are old clothes!" exclaimed Peregrine, turning round to the grim sergeant, with an aspect of horror, as he spoke; "I could swear they've been worn before."

"No occasion for that, young gentleman," returned the sergeant, with a grin upon his face that was enough to make an angel long to knock him down; "we never suspected them of being new, sir; you'll get a new suit for Sundays."

"You don't mean," cried Peregrine, "boiling over with indignation, "that I am to wear second-hand clothes! I would not put my footman into them," and Peregrine Pultney felt very much inclined to ram them down the sergeant's throat with a sponge staff that he saw in the room.

"I've got nothing to do with it," said the grim sergeant, who, after all, being only one of the executive, was by no means to blame, "it's the rule of the institution, Mr. Pultney."

We can vouch for the fidelity of this. It may seem a trivial matter: but as part of a system which has a direct tendency to destroy the self-respect of a youth, at the very outset of his military career, we look upon this inheritance of coats and trousers as a very objectionable affair. We believe that the cadets have now the privilege of paying some sixty guineas a year beyond the original amount, and of providing their own uniform;<sup>4</sup> but other evils, of the same degrading character, still continue to exist. The spy system is still in force. The non-commissioned officers attached to the establishment are employed not only as drill-sergeants on parade, but as spies off it. They have a keen scent of mischief, and whilst freely pocketing the hush-money of the cadets, are sufficiently unscrupulous, in other ways, to be very useful to their employers, who ought to be ashamed of using such agency. It is not only that the cadet is watched in his daily walks,—that his conversation in barracks is overheard, and eagerly treasured up,—that every physical manifestation, however deceitful, such as the sparkle of the eye, the flush of the cheek, the irregularity of the step, is eagerly looked for and duly reported, as presumptive evidence of indiscretion; but that letters are read, lockers opened, and other low tricks resorted to, to ascertain the doings, and sayings, and feelings of the cadet.† Is a youth likely to acquire an elevated tone of sentiment in such a school as this? We confess that when we reflect on the little pains that are taken to elevate and refine the moral feelings of the cadet, we find it impossible to feel any surprise at the contemplation of youths of sixteen

\* Since the first edition of this number was published, we have learned that the same system is still in force, for although the cadets *pay* for their own uniform, the *Company provides* it.

† We have now forcibly in our recollection a remarkable instance of the little pains that were taken by the authorities even to keep up an appearance of honourable gentlemanly feeling. A cadet, who had recently joined the seminary, happened to be writing a letter to an old schoolfellow when the bugle was sounded for parade, and either not having time, or being too unsuspicious to lock his desk, he left it open; and one of the sergeants entering the barrack soon afterwards, inspected the contents of the writing-box, and read the half-finished letter. Like the majority of letters written by new comers, it contained some very strong remarks on the general profligacy of the cadets, and the institution, if we remember rightly, was spoken of as a "sink of iniquity." Such an opportunity as this was of course not neglected: the letter was carried to the Lieutenant-Governor, who improved the occasion by bringing the letter with him to the next general parade, reading it aloud, and making it the text of a formidable harangue. No apology was offered for the unwarrantable meanness of the act which had placed the letter in his hands, or for his own dishonourable behaviour in taking advantage of the dirty conduct of his subordinate. It is right to add, that this did not take place under the rule of the present Lieutenant-Governor, who, we believe, would discountenance any such *proceeding*.

or eighteen forging their parent's name on Saturday, that on Sunday they may spend their time between the tavern and the brothel.

But great as are the opportunities of evil-doing which the brief recreation hours afford to the student, cadet-life is emphatically a life of study; and, perhaps, in no scholastic institution in the country is there so much enforced labour. Of voluntary labour, too, there is much. See the cadet, slate-in-hand,—what a mighty instrument is that slate!—what battles does it fight!—what victories does it achieve! You may see him, if he be one of the most earnest competitors—one of the most strenuous athletes in that great conflict, to be crowned as victor in which is a reward of life's permanency, to be felt and valued every day—ever with that dark slate before him, bending over it, and with well-pointed pencil shaping thereon figures and signs, cones and triangles, and parallelograms and algebraical strokes and crosses. In the study-hall, save when at the professor's desk, with eyes intently fixed on the pedagogue's countenance, his hand is ever moving over the smooth surface of the slate—the click of the pencil is ever audible; he may have acquired an ungraceful stoop, his cheeks may be pale, and his eyes bleared, but he will “get the Engineers.” Whilst others are playing in the field—or wandering in the dark—or, peradventure, enjoying the moonlight, he may be seen in that narrow compartment of the long barrack-room assigned to him by the authorities, which in Addiscombe phraseology is called a kennel, still armed to the teeth with slate and pencil, and printed books, and perchance a small manuscript volume, the experience of elder students, a “key” to unlock the difficulties of tough insoluble questions (Addiscombe, a “fudge”)—ever, for ever there he is, striving, struggling, by day,—by night, dreaming of dancing geometrical figures, and rampant algebraical signs, and professors' reports and places in “general merit”—What of that? Happy youth! he is secure of his reward. He will “get the Engineers.”

There is work enough, and too much, without this voluntary labour. The confinement during the bright sunny hours of the day is irksome and dispiriting; and it may be fairly questioned whether less would be learnt if the study-hours were reduced from nine to seven, especially as the greater part of these nine long hours is devoted to *Mathematics*. The cadets have a shorter word for it; they call it *sweat*—a monosyllable which may puzzle the etymologists, but we believe it to be a corruption of the word *sweat*, and as signifying that a knowledge of mathematics is only to be acquired with much toil—with much sweat of the brow; a sufficiently expressive word, it

must be acknowledged. Of this one study there is a vast preponderance. The day is begun with mathematics and ended with mathematics; and if it were not for such occasional lighter pursuits as plan-drawing and landscape-painting, though in small proportions, the amount of close attention to the interesting works of Hutton and Cape would ere long become unendurable. Next in importance to mathematics—but, judging by the time devoted to it, *longo intervallo*—stands *fortification*, which some years ago was only another name for the drawing and colouring of unintelligible plans, but which now, under the improved system of that able and excellent man, Captain Hector Straith, really demands from the cadet some scientific knowledge of the subject. Hindustani ranks next to fortification; then follow military drawing, surveying, and civil (or landscape) drawing; and French and Latin bring up the rear. To these last a very small portion of time is devoted—about four hours in the week.

Now all these different studies have a specific value attached to them; and the rank of the cadet in his class<sup>\*</sup> is determined by his general proficiency—the respective values of each study being added up to form the total, which represents this proficiency. Thus only a few terms since, *mathematics* and *fortification*, which occupy the highest place, were valued according to the number of cadets in a class—say thirty or thirty-five: so that the proficiency of the best mathematician was represented by 1, whilst that of the worst was represented by 35—the object, under such a system, necessarily being to achieve the lowest average. But the other studies were not thus valued according to the number of students in the class; but were represented by a fixed figure. Thus military drawing and surveying “counted,” as it was called, *twelve*—civil drawing, *four*, &c.—so as to admit of a certain number of students acquiring the lowest number—the second batch, the figure *two*, &c. Thus in a class of some thirty cadets, the eight best draughtsmen would all obtain a *one* in civil drawing—and with the other studies in like fashion—the number of the students being pretty equally, but not imperatively, divided by the number that the study “counted.” The acquirements of the student in each particular branch being thus represented by a certain figure, the total was then

\* The cadet enters the lowest or fifth class, and rises gradually without an effort, at the commencement of each term, as new comers press on behind, and convert the fifth into the fourth class, the fourth into the third, &c. But as there are five classes, and cadets belonging only to four terms, there is one honorary promotion, which takes place, according to the proficiency of the cadet in his first, second, third, or fourth term. The object, of course, is to be promoted as soon as possible from the fifth to the fourth class—as the cadets who are promoted first almost invariably obtain appointments in the Engineers.

ascertained, and the cadets ranked according to their general proficiency, which was tested by the lowness of the numerals opposite to their names. The position of each cadet in his class was ascertained, from the professor's reports, every month; and the general balance sheet was open to inspection. A unit more or less was a grave matter; for by these little numerals were determined the future nature of the cadet's career. They sent him to join the engineering corps; or the less lucrative, but scarcely less honourable, regiment of artillery; or drafted him into the line—and a figure more or less might in a score of years make all the difference between a superintending engineer and a captain of a company of sepoy.

Recently the system, which we have thus endeavoured to describe, has undergone some modification. Formerly, the students in each class competed only among themselves. Their position in their own class was not affected by the proficiency of the cadets in other classes. Now, it would appear that there is to some extent a general competition. Thus the number representing the study of mathematics is no longer bounded by the number of cadets in each class; but equals the number of cadets in the whole institution. Under this arrangement, a cadet in one of the junior classes, attaining a lower average, may rank, in "general merit," above a cadet in the first class. The figures representing the subordinate studies have also been raised, but not in a like ratio—thus Hindustani counts 60—civil drawing, 40—military drawing, 40—surveying, 40—Latin, 20, &c.; showing an elevation of those most necessary branches of military education—the art of using the pencil and the brush; but still giving a preponderance to the value of mathematics and fortification, which can rarely fail to be decisive. We do not quite know the object of a change, which seems so entirely to destroy the old system of integrity of classes, and internal competition—existing not only at Addiscombe; but at almost every scholastic institution in the world.

Its tendency, however, unquestionably is, or ought to be, to ensure the greater proficiency of the cadets, selected for the scientific corps, in every branch of education. Under the old system a cadet, utterly ignorant of Latin,\* or wholly incompetent to paint the most simple water-colour landscape, might still attain a commission in the engineers, for neither of these studies "counted" more than *four*—a number which could scarcely neutralise the advantages of a *one* in *mathematics* and *fortification*. Not, however, that the cadet, thus advanced

\* Neither Latin nor French, however, counted in determining the rank of the cadets selected for the scientific corps.

in *mathematics* and *fortification*, ever did count *four* in *Latin* or *civil drawing*, for the professors were marvellously considerate towards those who were thus advanced in the leading studies; and the first mathematician in the class was nearly sure to count *one* in *Latin*, though he might not be able to write a sentence of the language without a false concord; or *one* in *civil drawing*, though he could not wash in a sky without half-a-dozen "ent-shades." Indeed, we have known a professor, when making out his reports, particularly inquire into the positions of the different cadets in the mathematical class; and we have little doubt that something of the same system obtains at the present day, to the entire neutralisation of the objects contemplated in the reformed plan. If the new system of enumeration were fairly carried out by the professors in the strictest good faith, each separate study being regarded *per se*, and no respect being paid to persons, it would be a great improvement upon the old plan, because it would in some degree diminish the great preponderance of mathematics and fortification in the general balance; but we feel so certain that a leading mathematician, though incompetent to translate a line of Ovid, or to draw a chimney-pot, would never be counted *twenty* in *Latin*, or *forty* in *civil drawing*, that we are somewhat sceptical of the actual benefits which are to accrue from the change.

But nothing could be fairer in itself - nothing better adapted to answer the object in view - namely, the ascertainment of the general proficiency of all the students, and the selection for the scientific corps of the most proficient, than the system which we have described, if the proper relative value were attached to the different branches of study. But we confess that on this point we entertain some misgivings. Without undervaluing the importance of mathematical studies in every scheme of education, and their peculiar importance in military scientific education, we think that it may reasonably be doubted whether, in a course of study extending over no more than some eighteen months, mathematics are not, under the Addiscombe system, allowed to occupy an undue share of the student's time and attention. Much that is now learnt is, in after years, turned to no practical account, even by the Engineers. There should be a soul of practicality pervading the whole educational course; and the advancement of the cadet should not be tested so much by what he can do in the study-hall, as by what he can do in the field. A good deal more out-of-doors work than there is at present would be advantageous both to the mind and body of the cadet - more surveying - more sketching - more of the practical adaptation of mathematics to professional

purposes—more of the details of the laboratory school, and of the science of artillery. Efforts should be made to render the cadet more familiar with things themselves, than with the pictured representations of things. It is not enough to draw the plan of a gun. A boy may make a very pretty gun on a sheet of elephant paper. The wood may be very nicely grained, and the iron may be very neatly shaded; and the whole thing may appear, when finished, as pretty a little miniature gun, or howitzer, as one would ever wish to see in a model-room; but the cadet may carry his pretty picture with him to India in a tin case, and yet when he finds himself in a battery not know the trunnions from the breech of a gun. It is an excellent thing, unquestionably, to be able to draw a gun—or anything else; indeed, we consider the utility of drawing so great, that we would willingly see greater stress laid upon the acquirement in the Addiscombe educational course; but we do not know that much would be gained by taking more pains to teach the cadet how to copy, with the aid of the professor, a pretty landscape or an elaborate building, out of the portfolio of one of the Fieldings. Not much is gained by washing in huge masses of hill and lake and shrubbery on a capacious drawing-board—the work of producing one picture generally occupying a term. A cadet may, with a beautifully-executed copy before him, with a good deal of labour and a good deal of assistance, turn out a very pretty picture in the course of four or five months, but, when left to his own resources, be utterly incapable of sketching from nature the simplest object—still less a group of objects. We would fain see less in-doors, and more out-of-doors drawing. The elaborate neatness, which creates pretty pictures, is far less valuable than the readiness of apprehension, and rapidity of execution which constitute a good sketcher. The pictorial art is one which it is most desirable to encourage in such a country as this, where, during the greater part of the year, out-of-doors recreation is entirely denied to us weak exotics; and, therefore, we by no means underrate, in a general sense, the faculty of creating pretty pictures on paper or on canvass—a good gift, as it is, and one on the possession of which any man may fairly congratulate himself: but, writing only with reference to the requirements of military education, we can recognise the value of but one degree of art—that which enables the professor to employ his pencil in the field in such a manner as to transfer accurately to paper the features of the country, or of objects seen on its surface. There is an objection we know to the out-of-doors employment of the cadets. The young gentlemen are, unfortunately, when abroad in the fields, more prone

to play than to work. The survey squads, we well remember, which were occasionally sent forth with banner-rolls, and baskets of bread and cheese, to survey the Norwood hill or the Brighton road, were generally better disposed to take the measurement of the parlour of the *Rose and Crown* or the *Surrey Drovers*, than to mark out the water courses and trace the roads and sketch the slopes of the hills. But it would be easy to exercise a closer supervision over the cadets, by sending out a (gentleman) corporal or two, with each squad; or if that were found insufficient, one of the orderly officers might be instructed to accompany the survey, or sketching party. In the latter there would be less necessity for the squad to be broken up, and not the same facility of escaping work, as in the survey parties, where half a dozen cadets were employed upon the same piece of ground, whilst one did the whole work; took all the bearings; measured all the distances and sketched all the features; and his companions, making a joint stock of his property, transferred to their own skins the labours of the one workman. A professor, out of his narrow class-room, has, we know, little authority; but when the country becomes the class-room--when the huge trees are substituted for forms and the wide fields for tables, it would be easy to impose other control than that of the meek professor. The out-door classes should always be under military supervision; and under such supervision, the cadet, whilst he is acquiring much which will be of real practical and professional use to him in after life, would be laying up a good stock of health by imbibing the pure air and taking active exercise, instead of stooping from morning to night over a desk, in the heated atmosphere of a crowded school-room.

We have alluded to the employment, on such duties as these, of the orderly officers. It occurs to us that they might do much more--both to their own advantage and that of the institution--than make a sleepy appearance on parade, and administer extra drills. Might not they learn much; and might not something of a senior (commissioned) class be established at Addiscombe, resembling the "Senior Department" at Sandhurst? It appears to us that a limited number of officers on furlough might, with very great advantage, be permitted, under restrictions similar to those imposed at Sandhurst, to study under the able professors at Addiscombe; and to derive from proficiency in these adult studies, especial and acknowledged claim upon the patronage of the Indian Government. Upon their proficiency in drawing, surveying, field-engineering, &c., might be founded a just claim--which should be duly registered--to employment, on their return to India, in the survey department--the department



of public works, &c. How profitably might a furlough, now often wasted in strenuous idleness, thus be spent, both to the officer himself and the Government, which he serves! It is more than probable that the formation of such a class might also become a great benefit to the cadets of the institution.

But to return to the scholastic part of cadet life, there is another objection to the existing test of qualification—but one which it is not very easy to obviate. A question may fairly be raised, as to whether, under the present educational system, the highest appointments are ordinarily obtained by the young men of the highest intelligence. The trial would be a fair one if the start were fair—but the start never *is* fair. Whilst one youth enters the seminary, without any previous knowledge of the “course,” which he is to run, another makes his appearance, thoroughly imbued—or, in more expressively colloquial language, *crammed*—with the whole mathematical course from Vulgar Fractions to Nautical Astronomy, and the whole fortification course from Vauban’s first system to the sections of Sapping and Mining; he can bungle through a Hindustani fable and perhaps, after a manner, he can shale a sketch of the Addington hills into something resembling a heap of sand-bags, and manage the vertical touch so well, that the “features” of St. Sebastian or Peniscola shall not be taken for lawyers’ wigs. His parents, or guardians—probably, because they have had some experience in the persons of other children or wards, or have derived the valuable knowledge from some relative or friend—or possibly, by reason of a certain natural caninness, which tells them that four years’ study are better than two, when a great prize is to be competed for—have taken the precaution to educate him expressly for Addiscombe. There is more than one very tolerable forcing-house in the near neighbourhood of London, Edmonton, Mitcham, or Wimbledon. It is not the object to learn mathematics; but to learn a particular course of mathematics. It is not the object to learn fortification; but to learn a particular course of fortification. The Addiscombe text-books are, of course, diligently studied. The Addiscombe series of plans is, of course, diligently practised. The end is not to understand, but to do. Whether equations are to be worked out, or systems of fortification to be traced, rapidity of hand is the great thing to be attained. So many figures and so many signs on the slate—so many lines and so many curves on the drawing board. This is the real cramming system; and it must be successful—for the immense strides in advance, which are made at the outset of the cadet’s career, cannot fail to bring him in among the winners at the goal. The lead once taken is rarely

or never lost. In the novel, which we have several times quoted, we find an illustration of this truth, which we believe to be not much exaggerated :—

"What service do you belong to?"

"The military," replied Peregrine.

"Bad! why not go out in the civil?—be a soldier and starve."

"You must ask my father," said Peregrine Pultuncy.

"H hadn't interest, ah! What branch of the army?" continued the old gentleman, who was somewhat oblivious.

Peregrine informed him that he was going out in the artillery, upon which Mr. Havethelacks asked him why he had not procured an engineer's appointment.

"Because I couldn't," said Peregrine Pultuncy.

"Couldn't!—*wouldn't* I suppose?—idle—you don't look stupid."

"I hope not, sir," remarked Peregrine.

"How came it then?" asked the old gentleman.

"I'll tell you," returned Peregrine. "There was once a gentleman, who laid a wager with a friend, that he would train a pig to beat a race-horse in a race of a hundred yards. The match was made, and the gentleman began in good earnest to train his pig. He measured out the hundred yards, shut up the pig in a sty at one end, and placed its trough at the other end of the course. Day after day, the pig was kept on short commons, until a certain time of the evening, when the animal was let out of its sty, and off it scampered as fast as its legs could carry it to the trough, a hundred yards off. The other gentleman had not thought of training his race-horse, so when the day of trial came, the noble animal was beaten by the pig, who had scampered to the end of the course long before the race-horse could get into its speed. It's just the same, sir, at Addiscombe. The race is not always to the swift. A number of fellows go there crammed chock-full of mathematics, fortification, and the like; others go there perhaps with double talents, but acquisitions of a classical nature. The stupid youth who knows Hutton by heart, and has done all the plans in what is called the 'fortification course,' is sure to beat the greatest genius in the seminary who has been fagging at Latin and Greek all his life. He has not time to get into his full speed before the other boy has reached the goal. In two years more he would pass the crammed one, but as it is, he is dead beat; and that, sir, I believe, is the only answer that I can give to your question."

"Very satisfactory too," replied the old civilian, smiling.

This is not greatly overstated; and outwardly the comparison would seem to be sufficiently just—but we are inclined to think that, in some cases, the untrained racer might distance the trained pig; but that he loses heart at the outset. He assumes, somewhat too hastily, the hopelessness of the conflict; and gives it up in despair. There have been cases in which considerable ability united with indomitable energy and unflagging industry have availed to overcome the disadvantages of an entire want of preparatory tuition. But such cases are very rare; and it may be added that success demands something besides the talent, the energy, the perseverance to which we have alluded. It demands an almost entire absence of those finer feelings of sensitiveness and delicacy, which are often strongest

in the season of ingenuous youth,—feelings which recoil from the thought of the jostling, the finesse, the strife and the trickery, which are inseparable from such eager competition as that which must necessarily obtain, where a great prize, to be enjoyed throughout life, is to be struggled after, and every competitor rises by the downfall of his neighbour. The strength of the shoulder, or the swiftness of the foot, sometimes determines the position of the cadet in his class; and the jostling of which we have spoken is often more than a metaphor. There are some who naturally shrink from such boisterous competition, and cannot bring themselves to display this eagerness to outstrip, at all risks, their contemporaries. Under such a system as this, the more energetic cadets are but too likely to hustle on in advance of their understandings, whilst they who know more, but have done less, are left a long way behind. There is too much stress laid upon proficiency in a particular course of study, instead of regarding the acquaintance of the cadet with the general principles of the science itself; too much routine,—too much of the go-cart work,—too much reliance on the diligence of the fingers. If the Professors could but bring themselves somewhat to unharness the students, we should probably see greater proficiency in their classes. It would be well to vary the regimen. An unvarying course of Cape or Hutton is not the best means of securing anything beyond readiness of execution. The knack of working equations with rapidity is of more value to a cadet, as matters stand, than the deepest philosophical insight into mathematical principles; and we have known many sound mathematical scholars capable of carrying on original investigations, left far behind by mere tricksters, who have been working out results whilst others have been studying the principles upon which the process has been founded. The student who contents himself with knowing what is, without troubling himself to consider why it is, will be sure to make rapid strides in advance of the philosophic inquirer. In such a race as this the competitor has no time to think.

And yet, with all these drawbacks, the result is anything but unsatisfactory. In another article we have stated our belief that the Engineer corps, as a regiment of officers, is equal, in respect of scientific attainments, to any corps in the world. But this acknowledgment in no degree militates against our opinion, that if a more deliberate system of education were pursued at Addiscombe,—if rapidity of execution were no longer considered the first thing, and the second thing, and third thing—the regiment, now so strong in scientific ability, would be still stronger. The experience of many of our readers must supply

examples of great success at Addiscombe, unattended, in after-life, by any commensurate attainment of distinction—examples showing that “the bountiful rich promise of youth” may sometimes lead to disappointment. Indeed, the most successful competitors for the great prizes not unfrequently fail altogether to distinguish themselves in after-life. A judicious cramming may carry a youth through his four terms at Addiscombe, and enable him to figure at the public examination at the end of it, as “first engineer,”—but having disgorged himself on this occasion, he soon begins to contract into his natural dimensions; and pursues, on the greater stage of life, his journey to the end, without rising once above the level.

Along the Addiscombe course, harnessed tight into the go-cart of routine, the cadets make their way striving and struggling, toiling and panting—cantering quietly along at a decent orderly pace, with sleek sides not turning a hair, sure of being neither among the first nor the last, but in a very respectable position— or lazily sauntering on to the end, contented with the places in the rear; perhaps, obstinately refusing to go, and showing vice at every turning. Somehow or other, they all make their way up to the great goal—the examination-day, and are turned adrift with commissions in one branch of the service or another. The routine system has been maintained inviolate up to the closing fortnight of the last term, when there is a show of a mathematical examination by the senior Professor—designed, it would seem, for the express purpose of testing the actual acquirements of the cadet, *out* of the Addiscombe course. Some half-dozen—perhaps more—of the senior cadets are permitted to take a part in this final conflict, and it is possible that some slight change in their relative positions may be the result. The questions proposed are questions of no very easy solution; they are questions not in the beaten course; and as no reference to books is permitted—as the cadet sits on a stool with nothing but his slate before him—there must be some knowledge of mathematics to enable him to pass the ordeal. It is a nervous season, this private examination—and much previous hard study does it involve. Often have we known a cadet leave his bed, at midnight; and lighting the forbidden candle with a lucifer match, and making a shutter of his blanket, toil through the short hours, in puzzling solution of tough mathematical questions—collections made from the result of former examinations—till day began to dawn upon the wearied eyes and confused brain of the young student. Happy the youth, if his manuscript volume of examination papers stood him in good stead. Often was it a kind friend in the hour of need. Often did the luck

of a young competitor, in having worked up, from one of these collections, the very questions proposed, do more for him than his ability—and often, if the very problem was not hit upon, light was let in upon the solution of one question by an acquaintance with the mode of unravelling the intricacies of another of the same family. There was much chance-work in it; and at best ingenuity, in such a trial, was a steadier friend than a less ready profundity of knowledge. The great thing is not to have this knowledge in your head; but to have it running off your fingers. Still, all things considered, the last private examination was in reality a trial of strength; and that over, the work was done. The public examinations, whether in rehearsal or before the audience, were mere spectacles, got up for show, with parrot-like recitations—and a pretty sight it was, undoubtedly. A busy, bustling morning is that of examination day—everybody excited, everybody happy; some are launching into life, all are turning their backs upon the seminary, for a season, or for all time. The cadet is in a whirl; the whole institution is in a whirl. There is the Chairman of the Court of Directors to be saluted; guns to be fired; parades to be formed; marchings into the examination-hall and marchings out of the examination-hall; marchings in review order, general salutes, gun and sword exercises, out of doors: and in-doors surprising exhibitions of wisdom, already briefly described, distributions of prizes and commissions—the latter causing many a heart-quake, as the India House functionary rises with the important list in his hand—then an address from the Chairman of the East India Company, and the curtain falls. The young actors scurry off to their barracks; throw off their stage-dresses; array themselves once more in their plain clothes; scramble for seats on the stage-coaches, of which an extraordinary number are put on the road for the occasion; and in a couple of hours are entering the streets of London. Many a good dinner—ordered, perhaps, a week before hand and unctuously discussed in anticipation—is eaten on that evening, and many a carousal is there, reaching into the short hours, and ending not very decorously—parties of ten or twelve being formed to celebrate the joyful occasion. After these jollifications, old friends are parted, perhaps for ever. One joins one service; another, another service. One proceeds to one Presidency; another to another Presidency—Cadet-life is at an end.

In less than three months the majority of the passed cadets are on the wide ocean. The engineers alone remain. They proceed to Chatham to perfect themselves in engineering and—morality. Our subject is Addiscombe, and not Chatham,

else something might be written on the character of the arrangement under which these young men, newly emancipated from the severe restrictions of scholastic discipline, are sent to spend the first year of their manhood, in the filthiest sewer of pollution in the country—surrounded by the worst conceivable influences, the contagion of which it is almost impossible to escape. Something of this was dimly acknowledged, a few years ago, when the engineer cadets of one term were ordered to rejoin the Seminary—but on a different footing, as a hybrid class, half-officer and half-cadet. The thing was a failure; and no wonder. Not because the plan was impracticable in itself; but because nothing was done to render it practicable. We have briefly spoken of the advantages which might be derived from the establishment of a “Senior Department” at Addiscombe. Of such a Senior Department the passed engineer cadets might form the nucleus. We believe that under such a system they would learn quite as much of what it is desirable to learn, and much less of what it is desirable to leave unlearned; and if the relative position of the young officers on joining their regiments in India were to be determined by their good conduct and attention to professional pursuits, during this year of initiation, there would in all probability be much more of good done and much more of evil undone, than under the system which turns youths of eighteen adrift, in the most profligate garrison town in England, with scarcely any inducement to steadiness of conduct or application to study.

But contenting ourselves with merely throwing out this suggestion, in a few general words, and having brought the cadet's career to a close, we should consistently bring our article also to a close, if it were not that we feel called upon to consider a question, in connexion with Addiscombe education, of great concernment to all who are likely to profit by the patronage of the Court of Directors—the question of educational charges. The East India Company's Service is the finest service in the world. In respect of pay and pension there is no service comparable with it. The retiring regulations are extremely liberal; and promotion, though slow, is sure. It is by comparing it with other military services that we learn to estimate its true value. But the Court of Directors though liberal in great things, are niggardly in small. Their generosity is not consistent generosity. Whilst in many—nay, in most instances, their munificence far exceeds that of the Crown, in some it falls far below it. In nothing is this more striking than in their management of the Addiscombe institution, and the recent attempts which have been made to

force it—whether successfully or not we do not know—to pay its own expenses. Within the last ten years the cost of a cadet's education at Addiscombe has been nearly doubled. In 1834, the rates were 65*l.* per annum, including military uniform and other incidental expenses. In 1844, the yearly charge is 100*l.*—exclusive of the cost of uniform, books, pocket money, library subscription, &c., which raise the entire amount to at least 125*l.* per annum. This expense falls equally on all—on the son of the rich merchant or lordly land-owner; and on the orphaned child of the poor pensioned widow, whose husband has been slain in battle. This is not creditable to the East India Company. At no similar institution do the charges press so heavily upon the children of those who have a claim upon the liberality of the Government which they have served. The royal colleges do not deal in this niggardly spirit with the children of British officers. At the Royal Military College at Sandhurst there are three different rates of payment, under which cadets are admitted. They are (we quote from the *Military Annual*),—

“*First Class.*—The sons of all officers in the army, under the rank of field officers, including surgeons and paymasters and the orphans of officers of whatever rank in the army, and of commanders and officers of rank superior thereto of the Royal Navy, who have died in the service, and are proved to have left families in pecuniary distress, to pay 40*l.* per annum.

“*Second Class.*—The sons of regimental field officers and captains under three years' rank and commanders of the navy, 50*l.* per annum.

“The sons of colonels and lieutenant colonels, having corps, and of captains of the navy of three years' rank, 70*l.* per annum.

“The sons of all flag and general officers, 80*l.* per annum.

“*Third Class.*—The sons of private gentlemen and noblemen, 125*l.* per annum.”

At the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich the admission regulations are equally—in some respects even more, liberal. The payments (we again quote from the *Military Annual*) are as follow :—

“ Sons of noblemen and private gentlemen, not being officers of the army . . . . .	£125 per annum.
Sons of admirals and generals with regiments . . . . .	80 „
Sons of generals without regiments . . . . .	70 „
Sons of captains and commanders of the navy and colonels and regimental field offi- cers of the army . . . . .	60 „

Sons of all officers of the army and navy  
under the above ranks ..... £40 per annum.

Sons of officers of the army who have died  
in the service and whose families are proved  
to be left in pecuniary distress..... 20 „

In the graduation of these scales of payment is evinced a grateful and a generous appreciation of the claims of those who have served their country. The title of the son to benefit by the services of the father—and that in proportion as those services have been scantily or liberally rewarded—is here fittingly recognized; but the East India Company, in other respects so liberal, evince no such recognition. Education at Addiscombe must be paid for at its fullest value, no matter who is the recipient of it. The child of the soldier's widow fares no better than the child of one who now connects himself for the first time with the East; the hundred pounds—often, we grieve to say it, the prohibitory hundred pounds, swelled by its lesser tributary streams of attendant expenses, must be paid into the Company's coffers; or the gates of Addiscombe are closed for ever against the applicant.

We address ourselves, on this point, earnestly, but respectfully, and with a due appreciation of the generally liberal treatment of their servants, to the able and conscientious men—many of them well known and respected in this country—who constitute the Board of Directors. There are some members of the body, we doubt not, who, if they will tax their memories, may call to mind an array of facts illustrative of all that we are now writing on the subject of the hardships to which Indian officers—and in a still greater degree their widows—are subjected by the very illiberal treatment they receive in this matter of Addiscombe appointments. Hard indeed is the struggle—and to this we shall presently recur—to wring, unless private interest be great, an appointment from the Court of Directors, and the appointment obtained, if it be an Addiscombe one, then comes a further struggle to retain it. There are few Indian officers below the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, whose means will admit of their doing much more than to provide an outfit and passage for their son. An officer—we will for the nonce suppose him to be a Major, but there are many Captains, whose children are old enough to hold commissions—who has borne the burthen of a family, during sixteen or eighteen years, commencing at the season of regimental subalternship, finds it difficult, just at this critical period, to muster the means of equipping his son; and if, just before the date at which this equipment becomes necessary, he is compelled to increase instead of to diminish his



expenditure, the case becomes almost hopeless. We do not wonder that the majority of Indian officers, in spite of the very great advantages of the Engineer corps, and the less striking but still unquestionable advantages of the Artillery, look upon an appointment *direct* as a more valuable gift than an appointment to Addiscombe; since from the value of the latter must be deducted the 250*l.*, which is the price of two years of Addiscombe education.

The case of the widows of deceased officers is still more pitiable—still more worthy of the benevolent consideration of the Court. The Company are especially bound to extend their liberality towards the widows and orphans of the men who have died in their service, in as much as those helpless ones are supported not by the masters, but by the comrades of their deceased husbands and parents. The widow draws her pension from the Military Fund—the child becomes a ward of the Orphan Society. The pension of a Major's widow is, under existing regulations, 205*l.* per annum; of a Captain's widow 136*l.*—the child's stipend is, at the highest rate, 45*l.* per annum. Now, should the unfortunate widow, by dint of family interest, obtain an Addiscombe appointment for her son, the high charges for education at the institution necessarily amount to a prohibitory tax. Since we commenced this paper, an illustrative case, of peculiar pertinency, has come under our notice. An officer, a captain in the Company's service, was murdered at Cabool, in the winter of 1841, when in attendance on the British Envoy. He died leaving a widow and a large family, who, after enduring all the horrors of the retreat and captivity, were at length, by the blessing of God, restored in safety to their country. The subsistence of this large family was derived from the two noble institutions which we have named above,—but there was the work of education to begin upon, and education is grievously expensive. In a little time, however, the lady received the offer, for one of her boys, of a nomination to Christ's Hospital, and a promise of a similar appointment for another son on attaining the prescribed age. Reluctant at first to accept these offers, she was subsequently induced to do so, by the gift of an Addiscombe cadetship, placed at her disposal by a near relative of the British Envoy, at whose side her husband was cut down; for it naturally occurred to her, that if she had the means of obtaining a sound gratuitous education for two of her children, the amount thus saved from the little joint-stock might in some measure help to make up the sum necessary to defray, in behalf of her first-born, the educational charges at the Company's Seminary. Now, if

she had been the widow of a Queen's instead of a Company's officer; and if instead of an appointment to Addiscombe, it had been her fortune to obtain for her son an appointment to Woolwich, she would have been called upon to disburse no more than the yearly sum of 20*l*. The annual cost of Addiscombe education was at the lowest 120*l*. This was to be paid somehow. Even the peculiar claims of this widow and this orphan could avail nothing towards a mitigation of this almost insupportable tax. It was only to be met in one way; and that one way we have described. But here a new difficulty presented itself. The acceptance of the charity of Christ's Hospital involved a forfeiture of the stipend payable from the funds of the Military Orphan Asylum—that institution being, under the existing system now in course of modification, strictly a charitable institution; and its rules enforcing a withdrawal of assistance from orphans receiving support from other sources. Thus was the liberality of the Queen—for VICTORIA herself was, we believe, the patron—rendered nugatory, and the maternal management of the poor widow defeated. It was, in every respect, a very hard case; but the source of all the evil lay in the severity of the Court of Directors, which demanded from this distressed widow the heaviest rates of payment to the uttermost farthing, just as though neither she nor her children had possessed the smallest claim upon the generosity of the Company. Generosity do we say?—upon the *justice* of the Company.

The Court of Directors have ever incurred much odium on account of the selfishness evinced in the distribution of their patronage. The patronage of this vast empire is regarded in no other light than as the perquisites of office, and each director considers the writerships, cadetships, &c., which fall to his share in the division of the year's spoil, as much his own property as are the cast-off clothes of the aristocrat the property of his valet—or the suet and dripping, and various culinary remnants, the property of the cook. They take service on a small salary because the perquisites are great; and out of these perquisites are they able to supply the wants of a troop of hungry relatives and dependents. This is natural—and, so long as the present system obtains, it were hard to say that it is highly censurable. It has been so before, and is so now. The present Directors have taken things as they found them; and if they have not made matters better, they have certainly made them no worse. But the system is a system of rottenness and corruption. The entire patronage of the country is parcelled out among individual members of the court, who are in no way responsible for its just distribution, and who, so long as they do not openly sell it, may do with it just what they will. Now we would willingly compound for the

open and legalised sale of a certain portion of the annual patronage, if we could feel assured that the remainder would be fairly distributed among the children of those who have rendered, in peace or in war, good service to the country—the country in which they have spent their days, and, perchance, sacrificed their lives. Commissions in the Queen's Service are openly sold; but a portion of the army patronage is set aside for gratuitous distribution, and though we do not assert that family interest is altogether powerless, we believe that there are few instances of gross jobbery, and that the undeniable claims of deserving old officers in straitened circumstances—still less, of the widows and orphans of such officers—are seldom wholly disregarded, when the generosity of the country is appealed to in behalf of the soldier's child. A broad distinction is ever drawn between such claims, and those of men who have no title, either on the score of service rendered to the state, or of straitened pecuniary circumstances, to the charity of Government; but the East India Company draw no such distinctions. They recognise no claims.\* The difference between one applicant and another lies in the relative amount of interest possessed by each; and the motives which decide the question, are seldom other than private motives. The director disposes of his own share of writerships and cadetships after his own fashion; and there is no patronage belonging to the general body. Old officers, toiling and toiling, wearing their lives out in this country, look in vain for a crumb of the great patronage-loaf. Thousands of miles from the India House, what can they do but look and long? They cannot make interest with directors, like the dangles about Leadenhall-street—they cannot, by ceaseless importunity, extort cadetships, like some who haunt the passages of the India House. They sigh in vain for what is their due, and deeply feel the injustice of this utter disregard of their claims. We know nothing which would more strengthen the loyalty of the army towards their masters, than the appropriation of a large share of the patronage of the Court of Directors to the children of deserving officers—nothing which would more surely raise the character of the East India Company in the estimation of the world. It would be a worthy, a just, and as such a politic act. An opposite course may bring ruin. The Company will never be respected, let them rule in other respects as virtuously as they may, so long as the India House is regarded as the great hot-bed of nepotism. Let them look to this; or when they fall, never to rise again, it will be set down in the page of history, that it was patronage which gave the death-blow.

\* Some recent facts have been brought to our notice, since the earlier editions of this number appeared, which would induce us, in some degree, to modify these assertions.—*Note to third edition.*

- ART. V.—1. *Journal of a march from Delhi to Peshawur, and from thence to Cabool with the Mission of Colonel Wade, including Travels in the Punjab, a visit to the City of Lahore, and a Narrative of Operations in the Khybur Pass in 1839, by Lieut. W. Barr: post 8vo. cloth, with six illustrations. London, 1844.*
2. *Map of the Western Provinces of Hindustan; the Punjab, Rajpootana, Scinde, Cabool, &c., cloth in a case. W. H. Allen and Co. London, 1844.*

WHEN the British Army under Lord Keane, accompanied by Shah Soojah, advanced on Cabool by the Shikarpoor route in the beginning of the year 1839, a diversion was made, by the Khybur, by a contingent from the Sikh army, and a detachment of British troops under Lieut. Colonel Wade, consisting of four companies of Sepoys and three Horse Artillery guns,—mustering altogether thirteen European officers and three hundred and eighty British Indian soldiers, with three thousand two hundred and seventy Lahore troops, chiefly Mussulman Irregulars, but including one Goorkha regiment. To these were added a few hundred Irregulars entertained for Prince Timoor, the eldest son of Shah Soojah, who accompanied the force—the total strength being under four thousand men.

Some Affghans gradually joined the force; but their numbers are not given; and although Kour Nou Nehal Singh, with the flower of the Sikh army under Generals Ventura, Lena Singh Majetia, and most of the principal Sirdars, were also present, no record is given of their having fired a shot: and as the Goorkha regiment mutinied and went off bodily, and the Nujeeb regiment, under (the so-called) Colonel Jacob Thomas (a son of the notable George Thomas) behaved little better, the brunt of the fighting that occurred fell on the small British Detachment and a party of Moultanees under Captain Mackeson.

Every thing was done in those days in a hurry. Colonel Wade had been nearly a month on his road, when Lieut. Barr was ordered to follow with his guns to Peshawur, at which place he joined the force. He marched by way of Lahore; and in the volume named at the head of our article has given us his first impressions of a new and interesting country. As, however, the journal has lain idle, during the last three years, it is more than probable that it might have been considerably improved by an after revision and comparison with the experiences of other

travellers. Had it gone through some such process, many errors might have been avoided and many crudities erased.

The military operations, in which the Lieutenant took an active share, are described with much modesty, and some well-executed illustrative sketches adorn the volume. That of Ali Musjid sufficiently shows the strength of its position, but it might have been shown in even a more formidable light by bringing into the sketch the beetling precipice to the north of the Fort. Lieut. Barr seems to have made his sketch from the Jubokee pass, up which Sir George Pollock did not advance; the hill on the right of the picture with the tower on it, is the one on which the British troops under that distinguished General encamped on the memorable day which saw the Khybur forced in 1842. The General's tent stood close to that very tower; at least so our recollections run, and posterity may feel interested in the fact. Having served with them in the field, Lieut. Barr's notices of the Sikh troops, and especially of their artillery, are valuable; he does not, however, sufficiently estimate any branch, for though it is quite true that their guns and all appurtenances are very bad, we hold that the men, especially the artillery men, are as good as our own.

Our author marched from Delhi to Kurnal, half a dozen miles beyond which city he entered the protected Sikh states. The first place which he notes down in his journal is Azimabad—more generally known by the people as Telouree; but Lieut. Barr calls it *Azimghur*. It is a large town, famed in the annals of the last hundred years, as the scene of a great battle. It has been in many hands, and is now in as unpleasant a predicament as any corporation can desire; that is, it belongs, in equal shares, to the Patan Nawab of Koonjpoora and the Shaugurh Sikhs. Partnerships everywhere induce trials of temper; but it is not easy to conceive the contentions, between Sikh and Patan copartners, each, and particularly the stronger party, always desiring to cut the matter short by a stand-up fight. These feuds often involve the loss of crops to both parties, and between them, the cultivators and traders fare most wretchedly. Three miles further is Leelokheree, which is thus described:—

"We reached Leelokheree, which is about eleven miles from Kurnal, at half-past seven, and pitched our camp just beyond the extremity of the village, which is small and protected by a mud wall. Two or three lofty buildings stand in the centre of it, and are evidently intended as watch-towers whence a good look out may be kept."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 11.)

On leaving Leelokheree it is observed—

"Circular towers, similar to those at Leelokheree, constructed either of brick or mud, overlooked the neighbouring district, and stood in the midst

of every collection of huts, which as far as I could observe was invariably enclosed by a mud wall: thereby plainly indicating that the protected Seikh states, which we had entered this morning, are, or have been, at no distant period, subjected to the nightly prowlings of predatory marauders."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 11 & 12.)

Lieutenant Barr may well say so; and had he gone down the Loodianah-road to Ferozepore, or through Khytul, he would have been still more convinced of the original propensities of the inhabitants of the protected Seikh states. Such towers used to protect every well in the country; the three at Leelokheree were probably built in opposition to each other by rival holders of the little town, or rather village. It is now singly held by an old lady, as her principality, though yielding less than a hundred pounds sterling a-year. It was the chief place of a circuit of a dozen or so villages, held in copartnery by different Seikh chiefs and parties, but now divided off into separate states. The neighbourhood is a very bad one, and we wonder much that Lieutenant Barr does not make a note of his having been robbed. He must have been so—but perhaps, out of delicacy, omitted the entry.

His next march was Thanmesur, of which he might with advantage have said more. A more ingenious hand at book-making would have given us at least a chapter of the Mahabarut, and told how, like the fabled Kilkenny cats, the Karu and Pandu combatants devoured each other, leaving only twelve survivors from the lakhs on both sides. Barring fable, however, Thanmesur has much to interest the traveller; a thousand years ago it was the capital of a Hindoo kingdom, and lying on the track of invasion, has been alternately held by Moguls, Patans, Beloochees, and numerous mongrel Moslems, until it became a bone of contention between the Bhayekean (Khytul), Shangurean, and other Seikhs. It is now half under the Company, and half under the rule of a Seikh lady. The beautiful tomb of the Moslem Saint is still desecrated by the presence of a Seikh Priest, who, to the horror of the true believers, reads his Grunth, apparently as composedly as if the Khalsa were in the undisputed ascendant, hardly disturbed by the flittings about him of the descendant of one of the old Moslem keepers of the tomb, who still urges his claim, and begs every Christian traveller to help the assertion of his rights, and the cleansing of the tomb from Seikh pollution.

The Great Tank, called Korchetre, is an object of interest, as attracting Hindoos from the furthest quarters of India; as is the holy Saraswati \* (pronounced Sursooti), as fertilizing by its

\* Saraswati was a daughter of Brahma.

overflowings a large tract of country, and being considered throughout its course as sacred as the Ganges. The great Tank, or rather Lake, is called Korchetre; the name, however, more properly applies to the whole country around Thannesur, as the word Koru-chetre denotes the field of Koru, the opponent of the Pandūs. With Thannesur nearly as the centre, the country around, in a radius of twenty miles, is holy ground, and every Ghat on the Saraswati, and nearly every Tank within that area, is a Teeruth, or place of pilgrimage. The tomb of Tej Bahadoor, and other sites, are not without interest, but being somewhat inclined to utilitarianism, we gave, on our visit, the preference to the new bridge, extracted out of the Ladwa Rajah by Mr. Clerk, before the old Badshahi Serai; and to the rising shops and bazars, and the improving cultivation around, over mere matters of romance and antiquity. From Thannesur our author moves to Shahabad, which we are told is a large city, "and possesses some good houses. Amongst the "most prominent are the residences of four rajahs, whose "domains overlook the whole of the town, and are so polished "with chunam, that from a distance they glitter like marble."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 26.)

Now this is an error; there are three or four petty Sirdars, and their houses are spacious white ones, looking down on the town; but were it not for our present interference, we should probably have Mr. Thornton, in the next edition of his Gazetteer, telling us, on Mr. Barr's authority, of "the city of Shahabad, which is large, &c., and further contains no less than four rajahs."

We should call the place a town of 6,000 or 8,000 inhabitants; or rather a large village, and certainly not a city; and for the information of the unlearned we may state, that neither Lena Singh nor the Aloowala chief is a Rajah, as called by Lieutenant Barr. Who Rajah Dyan Singh, mentioned at page 275 as sitting beside Nou Nehal Sing at Peshawur, is, we cannot conceive; but, probably, the late notable Sirdar Ajeet Sing, "who had such a merry twinkle about his eyes," showing that men may laugh and stab. As to rajahs generally, let us further state that there are only four in the protected Sikh states, viz., the chiefs of Puttiallee, Jheend, Ladwa, and Munimajra; and that there is not a single *Sikh* rajah in all the Punjaub, except the Maharajah himself. Another march brings the detachment to Ambala, and a wearisomely heavy stage it is. Fortunately it rained, or probably Lieutenant Barr would be sticking in the sand with his howitzers up to the present time. He managed to advance, owing to the rain, and therefore calls the road good. Had he met General

Court at Kurnal last year, the General would have told him a different story, when he expatiated upon the gross absurdity of the British Government in not having a passable road to their frontier. The General spoke feelingly, for he had just travelled with his family in a palankeen carriage, and stuck in the mud *when it rained*, and in the sand *when it did not*. Though he too has "a pleasant twinkle about his eyes," he was actually fierce on the subject of British roads; the badness of which we may conceive, when we remember that the General could not have been very nice, not having been accustomed to the best in the Punjab. The matter is a serious one: we have known even dawk travellers stopped in the rains for three days by the overflowing of the Markunda, the Gugur, &c. Colonel Lockett, then a political agent going up to Simla to the Governor-General on important business, twelve years ago, was thus detained at Shahabad for three days. But let Lieut. Barr speak for himself.

"*January 31st.*—At half-past four we left Shahabad, this morning, but had scarcely proceeded a mile when rain fell; gradually increasing in heaviness until we reached the town of Ambala sixteen miles distant, and then, down it poured in torrents. Fortunately, our march was over a very excellent road, along which cultivation extended its cheerful aspect on either side, with scarcely an exception. A young plantation of trees, many being covered with straw to protect them from the frost, lined the approach for two or three miles before we reached the city, and close to the gate by which we entered it, is a large pukka tank, in excellent repair, having a flight of ornamental steps leading to the clear and translucent water with which it filled. The bazar is some miles in extent, and composed of two streets at right angles with one another; most of the houses in it being of late construction."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 27 & 28.)

The trees are Mr. Clerk's, and the bazaar his and Captain Murray's, and does much credit to both; but it can hardly be said to be "some miles in extent," though regular, well built, and clean. We like accuracy, when distances, numbers, and spaces are given. It is better to leave them alone, unless they can be correctly stated.

We next take up our author at Lahore, where his detachment is welcomed by "the Governor," who is elsewhere called by Lieut. Barr "Noormahal." It would have much shocked the decorous Fakeer *Noorooddeen* to have, with all his gravity, been taken for "a light of the Haram." Colonel Bellasis\* calls Noorooddeen, a sort of commissary-general and master of the ceremonies, and introducer of Europeans. He so officiated for him, and was the medium of introduction to the Maharajah, of Generals Ventura and Allard, and in this capacity he evidently visited Lieut. Barr, and not as Governor. Indeed, we are not

\* See the Adventurer in the Punjab.



aware that there is one, unless in emergencies. Sirdar Uttur Singh Kalewala, an active person, was entrusted at one time with the office, and with the duty of patrolling the city during one period of the late excesses of the Seikh soldiery; but Nooroodeen is essentially a civil officer. He lays in powder, shot, and grain at Umritsur as well as at Lahore, and he effects repairs in the walls, &c., and holds sweet converse with all Europeans. Here is Lieut. Barr's description of the Fakcer:—

"In the afternoon, the Governor of Lahore, who reigns supreme here during the absence of the Maharajah, paid a visit of ceremony to the commanding officer, and, being a man of consequence, was received with marked attention. His approach being announced, we walked about twenty or thirty paces to meet him; and on his alighting from a palanquin, and salaaming, we bowed in return, shook hands and led him to our tent, where we deposited our worthy burden on a cane-bottomed chair, as no costly ottomans formed part of our camp equipage. He here presented Captain F. with a "zafut" of 250 rupees; and after having enquired respectively concerning our healths, the conversation turned upon our march, the state of the Maharajah, and such like topics. Our visitor was a short, elderly, and rather plainly dressed man, with an intelligent and somewhat amiable cast of countenance; and as he was the perfect gentleman in his manner, we were altogether much pleased with him."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 74 & 75.)

This Nooroodeen is not only called Noormalah, but his brother Azeezooodeen, a man known all over the world, is thus described:—"The individual whose opinion perhaps has most weight with Runjeet Singh, is the Fakcer Azeemutoodeen, "the physician, interpreter, and general transactor of his business."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 117 and 118.)

Passably correct, but for the name. Foreign and confidential secretary, as well as physician, would, however, have been more strictly accurate. This corruption of names, as in the case of the Fakcers and of Tej Singh, who is misnamed Tejee Singh; the Aloowala Sirdar, called the Aloowur Rajah, &c., is not to be commended, for it does not look well, and is not well, coming from an officer who could have reported so much more accurately.

While at Lahore, Lieut. Barr sees several of the European officers in the Seikh service, and appears to have given credence to some rather marvellous stories told by them. Talking of their pay being kept in arrears, he says, "the same system is pursued towards the men, and Captain S. complained bitterly of the state his corps was in consequence reduced to, many of his soldiers being only able to afford a meal every third day, and numbers being without shoes to appear in on parade. The latter he invariably passes into the rear rank, to be out of sight; but he has not yet found a remedy to conceal the attenuated forms of the others."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 77.)

Pleasant fellows for fighting with, on two meals and a third of another per week! Letting alone the bare feet, which he should have put in the front, the report has balderdash written on its face. No soldiery in the world would permit itself to be so starved, and none less so than the Seikhs: they have been six, eight, and even twelve months in arrears; but they did not eat their daily meals the less regularly, whether it was the bunya or the husbandman who paid the penalty. Captain S. has managed to figure a good deal in print, and did not always talk wisely either to his Seikh soldiers or to his own countrymen. We have heard that in the dark days, after Shere Singh's accession, when the regiment of Captain Forde, a very good officer, treated him so cruelly that he shortly afterwards died at Peshawur, Captain S. proposing some measure to his own regiment, the men told him to hold his tongue; that they despised him too much to touch him; but that if he did not keep himself quiet, they would drown him in the fashion in which we are told that Gulliver extinguished the conflagration at Lilliput. A graphic sketch of the passage of a river is given by Lieut Barr, at page 121:—

“At the Ravi, we had a specimen of the manner in which a Punjabee ferry is conducted, and where any thing but order and regularity was observed. As soon as the artillery had finished with the boats, a regular scuffle ensued for them, and of course strength and might won the day; those who had gained possession of them retaining it by thrashing unmercifully any individual who attempted to enter the boat except of their own party. One little fellow I observed making dexterous use of a short stick, with which he belaboured the heads and legs of those who, being no acquaintances of his, endeavoured to secure a seat, and the gentler sex, I am ashamed to say, were treated in no better manner; for those who got on board (and many did) had, after receiving their portion of thumps with the rest, to tumble in head foremost, or were dragged in by the feet or hands which ever limb was nearest to their friends, who had previously obtained a footing. Children too were in danger of being crushed: and I understand it is not a rare occurrence for two parties to draw swords and have a regular set-to for the precedence; indeed, Foulkes mentioned that not long ago a man deliberately levelled his matchlock and shot another who had disputed his right to a passage.”—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 121 & 122.)

We can vouch for the accuracy of this sketch. We have seen two or three horses' legs broken in one such scramble, and never did we elsewhere see boats crammed with cattle as Seikhs cram them.

Little respect of persons is entertained by Seikhs under circumstances where, if a man misses a boat, he may be compelled to wait for hours for another. We were once much annoyed by a gay Goorchura of Rajah Golab Singh's taking a boat from our servants at the Jhelum; we coaxed

and we threatened; and we spoke of the Maharajah's perwanah in our possession; but the man only smiled. At last we insinuated that we were proceeding to visit Golab Singh, and would assuredly report his insolence; he immediately brought back the boat, and begged forgiveness. We wished to improve the impression we had made; and so, to alarm him, refused the boat which he now urged upon us. A fortnight afterwards, while sauntering through Rajah Golab Singh's camp, our friend put his head out of a little tent, and smiling, made us a salaam, as much as to say, "you have not reported me, I hope?" Golab Singh and Sawun Mull were then the only names bearing weight beyond the Jhelum, and Dhyani Singh's to the eastward of that river. Maharajah Sher Singh might have got a boat for himself; his purwanah could not effect it for us.

The defection of the Goorkhah regiment is detailed at pages 294 and 295; and at 222 it is stated, that the Nujeebs refused to move their camp at the order of their commanders. The same Goorkhas once obliged Runjeet Singh to take refuge in Gobinghur.

We had marked other extracts; but have already made so many, that we must conclude with another specimen of discipline, which, though very consonant with Sikh practice, is less to their discredit than would at first sight appear: --

"I was to fire on a cantonment of Dost Mahomed's soldiers, situated at the base of the hill on which Ali Musjid stands, but concealed from my view by a low intervening ridge sloping from the right. The Goorchuras were then to gallop forward, plunder the place, and retreat with the spoil behind our position. On emerging from the defile, preparatory to wheeling into action, we were received by a shower of bullets fired fortunately from too great a distance to cause any serious injury, though sufficiently close to be unpleasant and disagreeable; one hit me on the bridle arm."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 330.)

"Nothing was now to be heard on all sides but the roar of musketry, momentarily drowned by the louder reports of a zumboor, a mortar, or a howitzer, the discharges from which were re-echoed from the narrow chasms of the pass. Meanwhile, I had explained Wade's commands to the Goorchuras' officers, who replied, 'that it was the custom of their troops, when once they made an advance, never to retreat; that they were quite willing to seize upon the cantonments if it was the Colonel's wish, but they would also retain possession of it or fall to a man.'—p. 339.

If the reader will look at Lieutenant Barr's sketch given in the frontispiece, he may judge of the locality up which the horsemen were to charge; and will probably concur with us in the opinion that the Sikh commander only displayed a proper discretion. Had the order been obeyed, the enemy would have been up the sides of the hills in an instant, and the whole

retreat of the cavalry would have been fearfully harassed from the rear and both flanks.

Thus it is that troops are disgusted, and made to distrust and disobey their officers. The Seikh commander acted rightly, but he answered falsely; for it is notorious that the reverse of what he said is the favourite manœuvre of Seikh horsemen, and that *it is* the custom of their troops to advance and retreat, rally and return to the fight—and a most useful manœuvre it is, as well knew the great Frederick, who desired to have the men “that could run and rally.”

We part from Lieut. Barr and his book with friendly feelings, not unminged with regret, that an officer of such manifest accomplishments did not think it worth his while to bestir himself more effectually. Such, however, as is his volume, with all its errors, it gives us, in one small octavo, a more real picture of the Punjab than Masson's or Burnes' ponderous volumes. Those travellers evidently neglected to make notes on the spot, and concocted their lucubrations afterwards, setting down fancies for facts, and dealing largely in whims and theories. Lieut. Barr has fallen into the opposite error. His pages bear evidence of daily notation; and of having been little, if at all, revised for subsequent publication. His is a rough sketch, thrown off on the ground, generally true to nature, but bearing evidences of haste, and of the absence of after touches; theirs are elaborate pictures, worked up from very scanty materials.

Putting aside the little volume, which has afforded the staple of these introductory remarks, we may now proceed, in the belief that at the present time the subject is one of no little interest, to offer some observations of our own on the Seikh country and people. The Punjab (Punj-ab, five waters in Persian) is literally the country contained between the rivers Sinde or Indus, Jelum or Hydaspes, Chenab (Acesines) Ravi (Hydraotes) Beah (Hyphasis), by some called Beas, and the Sutlej, called after its junction with the Beas, the Gharra;\* all these rivers join a little above the town of Mithuncote, and contribute to swell the mighty Indus. These rivers, as elsewhere in the east, have religious associations attached to them, and though the inhabitants on their banks are now chiefly Mahomedans, they almost all spring from Hindoo converts; and we hear nearly as much of Chouhans and Rhatores, of Jauts and Rajputs, on

\* It will be seen that there are in reality six, and not five rivers. Mr. Thornton, in his very valuable, but not faultless, *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India*, surmises that it is the Beah, of which, being the least important in respect of size, no account has been taken. We incline to think that it was more probably the Beinde, which has been omitted, as less entirely appertaining to the Punjab.

the Jhelum or the Sutlej, as in Rajpootana or in the Bhurtpoor territory. In fact, the Jauts of Bhurtpoor have emigrated from Moultan, and though some are now Sikhs, some Moslems, they readily acknowledge their common stock; on the other hand, the converted Mahomedans of the Rajput tribes have come from the opposite direction, from Delhi and Northern Rajpootanah. We have often been amused at hearing the Wild Goojurs, Dogurs, (not the Jumboo Dogras, who are Hindoos), and Rangurs tell tales of their Chouhan and Rhatore ancestors; to this day there are many villages on the north-west frontier having Mahomedan and Hindoo families claiming kindred, sometimes even intermarrying, and at particular festivals eating together, though not at the same dish. It is well known that there are times and places when even Hindoos are reduced to reason as to food; that at Juggernath, the Pariahs cannot pollute the Brahmin; and in our own person we have found that, near the source of the Ganges, a Christian may be permitted to drink from a Brahmin's lotah (vessel) without offence: so is it with the Sikhs, that at the Gooroo Matta, or Council of the Nation, all, howsoever sprung (and some of them were low enough), freely partook in common, dipping their hands in the same vessels.

We may not inappropriately here offer a detailed account of the characteristics of the Sutlej, as a specimen of the Punjabee rivers. Though they all vary, more or less, according to the soils and localities through which they run, they nevertheless have much in common. The Sind, or main Indus, may be considered the most rapid, the Ravee the most tortuous, and the Sutlej the most shifting of the six rivers that bound and intersect the country.

Burnes, at page 183, vol. iii. of his *Travels*, tells us the Sutlej is "called Shittoodur, or the hundred rivers, by the natives, from the number of channels in which it divides itself." Burnes evidently owes his derivation to Rennell, or Abulfazel, and the geographer (Rennell) allows he took it from the latter, telling us, at p. 102 of his "*Memoir of a Map*," that "Ptolemy names the last river of the Punjab (going eastward) the Zaradrus; Pliny, the Hesudrus. Arrian has the name of Saranges among his Punjab rivers; and says that it joins the Hyphasis (or Beyah). The Ayin Acbaree (Abulfazel) says that its ancient name was Shetooder, from whence we may easily trace Sutlege, or Sutluz." Abulfazel's words, as translated by Gladwin, page 107, vol. ii. are—"The Seteluj, formerly called Sheetooder, whose source is in the mountains of Ghahlore," meaning Kuhlre.

It is true, that immediately after rounding the Nainee Dehee ridge, and emerging from the hills, the river becomes, and con-

tinues for a few miles above Roopur, a complete network of streams, but neither Rennell nor Aboofazel gives the origin of the name: and as we know no language in which Shittooder means hundred rivers, we offer what we consider a more accurate derivation—considering Shittooder and Sutlej to be each corruptions of Satrudra, and all Indian rivers to be connected with Hindoo mythology, we would explain the words as *Sat*, holy, true, best; and *Rudra*, a name of the god Siva; the compound making Satrudra.

The source of the Sutlej has never been visited. Moorcroft and Gerard have, of all travellers explored nearest its source; the former having fallen in with the river at about latitude  $31^{\circ}$  and longitude  $80^{\circ} 40'$ , Thornton's Gazetteer, at page 258, vol. ii. quotes Lloyd and Gerard as follows: "The most remote source of the Sutlej is said by my informants to be at a place named Chomik Tongdol, where a small stream gushes out of the ground and runs into Goongeeo Lake. This place must be very much elevated, for, allowing a moderate fall for the river, it will come out 19,000 or 20,000 feet more than Lake Man Sarowar, which I think I have a pretty good data for estimating at 17,000 above the sea."—(Page 258, vol. ii. *Thornton's Gazetteer*.)

There is so obvious an error in these numbers, that we wonder it escaped the observation of the corrector of the press. The words in the volume, misquoted by Mr. Thornton, are, "This place must be very elevated, for allowing a moderate fall for the river, it will come out 19,000 feet or 2,000 feet more than Mansarowur, &c. &c." There is a little difference between this and Mr. Thornton's account of the passage.

Mr. Thornton, using Moorcroft, Herbert, Gerard, Hutton, and Rennell, goes on to say:—

"This spot is, in the map of the authors just quoted, placed in lat.  $31^{\circ} 5'$ , long.  $81^{\circ} 6'$ , and appears to be on the south side of the Kailas, or 'Peaked Mountain,' on the north of which the Indus is thought to have its source. From this point it takes its course to Rawan Hrad, or Goongeeo Lake, situate close to that of Manas Sarowara, and supposed by some to receive its waters. It subsequently issues from the north-western extremity of this lake, being there in the dry season thirty feet broad, and takes a north-westerly course of about one hundred and fifty miles, through a country of awful and even terrific sublimity, as far as Nako, in lat.  $31^{\circ} 50'$ , long.  $78^{\circ} 36'$ . Close to this it receives the river of Spiti from the north-west. Above the confluence, the Sutlej is seventy-five feet wide; its bed 8,600 feet above the level of the sea. Gerard observes, 'It is not easy to form an estimate of the water contained in the Sutlej, for although the breadth can be determined, yet within the mountains there is scarcely a possibility of sounding it, on account of its great rapidity.'—The depth at this spot must be very great, as the volume of water is considerable even eighty miles further up, where, at Ling, the river is too broad to admit of a rope-bridge, and is crossed by *one of iron chains*: the breadth thereabouts 'exceeds one hundred and twenty yards; depth, at the

lowest season, one foot and a half; the rapidity seven or eight miles an hour; the impetus of the stream such as that it can be forded by yaks or Tartarian kine if the depth exceed two feet. The bed of the river, a short distance below this, in lat.  $32^{\circ} 38'$ , long.  $70^{\circ} 4'$ , is 10,792 feet above the sea. Here the river is by the natives called Langzhing Khampa, or the river of Langzhing; lower down, Muksong; then, Sanpoo; lower still, Zeung-tee; lower down, Sumedrang; in Buschar, Sutoodra, or 'hundred-channelled,' whence the name Zadadrus and Hesudrus of the classical writers; lower down, it is generally called Sutlej, by which name it is also known up to its source."—(Vol. ii. p. 259.)

Here is a fair specimen of the growth of error—Rennell, page 83 (in our edition it is page 102), is given in the margin as authority for Sutoodra, or "hundred-channelled;" but the fact, as we have already shown is, that it is not Rennell, but Burnes who erroneously translates the word. The quotation above given from Thornton is very indistinct; we read the passage half a dozen times, before we could understand that the Sutlej was not made to run up from 8,600 feet to 10,792.

Again, using Gerard as authority, Mr. Thornton observes,—

"Though the river is in the upper part of its course a raging torrent, falling in several places a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet per mile, with a clamorous noise, and displaying heaps of white foam, yet so severe is the climate, that for two hundred miles it is completely frozen for two months every winter. Where not fordable, it is crossed either by a Sango or wooden bridge; by a Jhoola or rope-bridge, which the traveller passes on a seat suspended by a loop made to slide along the rope, by means of a long string, pulled by men stationed on the further bank; or by means of a zuzum, or foot-bridge, formed of cables, stretched parallel to each other. These frail suspension-bridges frequently give way, and the passengers are dashed to pieces. There are also a few chain bridges. At the confluence of the Spiti and Sutlej, the bed of the river is 8,494 feet above the sea. The scene is described as awfully sublime."—(Vol. ii. p. 259.)

Gerard says that he "never saw any" chain bridges; but that there is "one over the Sutlej, near Thooling;" we know of only two on the western hills: one in Kamaon, over the Kali—another over the Jumna, beyond Mussoorie. Would that there were "a few" more. Continuing to condense Gerard and Moorcroft, and adding to them the authorities of Von Hugel and Vigne, it is stated:—

"From Rampoor to Bilaspoor, in lat.  $31^{\circ} 21'$ , long.  $76^{\circ} 41'$ , its course is generally west-south-west. Forster, who crossed it here, describes it as a very rapid stream, about one hundred yards broad. Hence it holds a very tortuous course, but in general west-south-west to Rampoor, lat.  $30^{\circ} 58'$ , long.  $76^{\circ} 29'$ , where it makes its way through the low sand-stone range of Jhelwan, and enters the plain of the Punjab. It is here thirty feet deep, and more than five hundred yards wide in its season of greatest fulness, and is crossed either in boats or boats of inflated buffalo-hides. As is the case with all the rivers descending from the Himalaya, it is far fullest in June, July, and August. At the ferry of Filor, or Faloor, in lat.  $31^{\circ}$ , long.  $75^{\circ} 51'$ , it was

found, in the season when lowest, to be two hundred and fifty yards wide, seven feet deep, and moderately rapid. Burnes, who crossed it here in August, when fullest, found it seven hundred yards wide, with a depth, where greatest, of eighteen feet, but on an average of only twelve. Up to this point it is navigable at all seasons for vessels of ten or twelve tons burthen. Its confluence with the Beas is a little above Hurekee, and in lat. 31° 11', long 74° 54'."—(Vol. ii. p. 260.)

Throughout this last quotation we can say, from our own personal knowledge, that there is considerable inaccuracy; the fact being that shortly after leaving Bilaspore, the river makes a sweep north-west, for nearly twenty miles, then runs south-west for nearly half that distance, and then returns south-eastward to Roopur, whence it flows nearly west to Loodianah, where it is so narrow, because there it divides itself into two branches—the smaller one under the cantonments being navigable for any boats during the rains. We have fathomed it in August and found seven feet of water. To the above full description we may add from our own notes, that there are many rapids in the river during its course through the hills; but the falls are not so steep as to prevent timber being floated down. The navigation is, however, difficult, and not unattended with danger, as the river, often filling up the entire channel between the rocky sides, affords no landing-place to the raftsmen who may have lost their footing on the timber floats. The speculation of wood-cutting would, however, be a profitable one.

We calculate the stream to average four and a half miles in the hills, and two in the plains during the cold weather; but when the snows begin to melt in the mountains the rate increases, until in the height of the rains, about July, the average is double, or more than double, the above. But the rises and falls of the river and strength of current are very arbitrary. It will often rise six feet in a single night. The passage across the Sutlej between Loodianah and Ferozepoor is usually made in a quarter of an hour; but we have been six hours effecting it backwards and forwards, owing to the strength of the stream: and the voyage from Roopur to Ferozepoor, usually occupying three to six days, we have known effected in twenty hours.

In the plains, the Sutlej runs through a line of country averaging six miles in breadth, and from twenty to a hundred feet lower than the general surrounding level. This tract is on the Sutlej, as almost on all Indian rivers, called the Khadir, as the high adjoining lands are called Bangur. Through any portion of this bed of six miles the river is liable to force a new channel, and every year it does more or less change its course. The Khadir is divided into two or more steps, formed by new depo-



sits: and while the progress of destruction along the high banks of the river is very perceptible, the new formations can often be noted from day to day.

The river begins to rise in April, and is sensibly increased in May, and towards July comes down in so full a stream as often to inundate the villages on the adjoining bank. The rise of the river (called *Rez*, literally *flowing*) is hailed on the Sutlej banks as a good fall of rain is elsewhere, and the ploughings on the high lands are more or less extensive, according to the distance that the first great flood of the season has extended. Much of the low (Khadir) lands are completely drowned; but the loss of a crop is compensated by their giving a fuller harvest in the cold season. Those lands only flooded to the depth of two or three feet are sown with rice. The general influence of these floods is beneficial, but occasionally not only are villages swept away, but large deposits of sand are left over what had been a rich soil.

The river water is seldom artificially raised for irrigation. When it is so raised, as in the Bahawalpore territory, it is drawn up by Persian wheels worked by bullocks or camels—the machinery being placed over a kureez, or cut in the river bank.

The Sutlej, after rounding the Nainee Debee ridge (there the outer Himalaya), spreads as it passes the village of Anundpore Makowal into many (“a hundred”) streams, but again closes into one channel as it approaches the Sewalie range, and quite loses its mountain character five miles below Roopur, and from a blue deep stream rolling over large pebbles, and confined within narrow limits, it expands into a muddy river running through a low swampy country (the Khadir) and varying from an occasional deep channel to repeated shallow nullahs separated by large sand banks. Three miles above Hurekee it is joined by the Byas. The Sutlej is here in December about three hundred yards wide, and the Byas two hundred. The depths are much the same. The volume, therefore, of the former is the greater, though, on the authority of Macartney, it is stated by Thornton to be otherwise. The stream of the Byas is comparatively clear, and the waters of the two rivers do not mix for nearly a mile below the junction.

In December there are several tolerable fords between Roopur and Ferozepore, and by taking a zig-zag course, a good guide could take an army over at many places, but all are more or less dangerous for the passage of troops. There are from twenty to thirty recognised ghats between those places, and among them about two hundred flat-bottomed boats could be mustered. These boats are perfectly flat, with a high projecting

peak, and have sides not above a foot high. Not a nail is used in their construction, and they appear, and are really flimsy vessels; but are admirably adapted for passage boats, are easily entered and left by cattle, and although liable to be swamped, they cannot by any possibility be upset. Their maundage averages from 150 to 300 maunds, twenty-eight of which go to the ton.

The boats of the other Punjab rivers, and now freely used on the Sutlej, are the *Zorah*, *Naruk*, and *Dondah*. All are nearly flat-bottomed; they are clumsy, but strong and safe boats; the *Zorah* is square built both fore and aft, and the breadth is the same from stem to stern. The *Zorah* is the boat of the lower Indus, and carries from 1,000 to 1,200 maunds. The *Naruks* and *Dondahs* have pointed bows and sterns, and differ only in the latter having a higher stern raised like the bows of the Sutlej boats. The *Naruk* and *Dondah* are boats of the Chenab and of the Sutlej about Mobarikpoor and Bahawalpoor; they seldom exceed 800 maunds in burthen. *Berie* is the generic term for boats on the Sutlej.

The river may be considered to rise from twelve to fifteen feet at Loodiana, to be lowest in March, highest in July; fluctuating, however, very much from season to season and month to month. The changes in the river's course are so rapid and frequent, that no ford can be considered permanently safe, and all, owing to their zig-zag shapes and to the frequency of quicksands, require expert guides.

The narrowness of the deep channels is the great impediment to navigation. Three large steamers, however, have been to Ferozepoor, and the largest of them (the *Comet*) to Machewala, twenty miles above Loodiana; and there can be no doubt that boats built for the purpose could navigate throughout the year to Roopur.

Captain Baker, of the Engineers, some years ago, took lines of levels along the Sutlej between Roopur and Ferozepoor, and showed that it has a fall of two feet per mile, being double that of the Ganges; the stream is proportionably rapid, and in the rains cannot be less than five miles an hour at Loodiana. In the hills it runs at from four to ten miles in the hour, according to the season and locality. The average breadth of the stream between Roopur and Ferozepoor is in the rains a mile, in the cold weather two hundred and fifty yards.

The Sutlej is called by the people Nai, being the generic local word for *river*; from the junction with the Byas, it is called the Ghara, to where it meets the Chenab, a little above Oonch, and the conjoined waters became the Punjnad, flowing

in a broader and deeper stream, and merging its name and waters in the Indus above Mithunkote.

The trade on the Sutlej was, three years ago, rapidly increasing; but the Affghan troubles and Sikh massacres have put many hindrances in the way of commerce. Traders found it more profitable to follow commissariat officers into the field: and boats that had been taken up for loads of wool or sugar to Gorabaree, for the Bombay market, were wanted for military bridges; but now that duties are light, and the river safe (it has not been otherwise above Sukkur for several years), let us urge on the Bombay mercantile community how much may be done by the first capitalists that enter the field.

Mr. Masson asserts, that the Indus has been always open; that trade wants no protection in Central Asia; and yet in more than one place (page 323, vol. i., and 187, vol. ii., for instance) he himself minutely narrates the circumstances of the plunder of Kafilahs and of individuals. Indeed, we are not sure that although he only spent a rupee and a half during a journey of three hundred and sixty miles, and therefore could not have travelled *en Prince*, that he was not more than once robbed. We are therefore confident that traders, and all travellers who have anything to lose, are in constant danger of either wholesale or petty plunder beyond the Indus, and even beyond the Sutlej, and, however difficult it is to meet such questions, that they may be met by firmness, temper, and perseverance. Five years ago, *all* boats on the Sutlej paid to the Lahore Government 500 rupees per voyage; now, the whole duty has been altogether lowered, and small boats, as is proper, only pay rateably with larger ones. Extortion too and forced rates are now seldom heard of. The same system might be established on the Upper Indus; but would a trader on that river be now safe until an arrangement is effected, or would he have been so at any time since the days of Alexander?

Much may be done by British influence within the sphere of its control. Already has a road been opened from Bahawalpoor to Delhi, re-opening a long closed channel; and, if a little help is given, the Marwaries and Nouriahs will soon bring their own boats to Bahawalpoor, and there unload for Delhi and its rich neighbourhood, while their vessels will ply direct from the sea to Roopur, within fifty miles of Simla. Indeed, we conceive that the produce of our own and of the Punjab hills might, even without the aid of steam, be made to reach Bombay in two months, and the return voyage in five months. A large steam-vessel has penetrated as far as Machewala, twenty miles above Loodiana, and within thirty of Roopur. The voyage

from Roopur to Ferozepoor, in a boat laden with merchandize, may be made in from four to seven days; from Ferozepoor to Gorabaree in from twenty-five to forty days; and thence to Bombay in, we believe, from three to ten days. Certainly two months is ample space to allow for the downward trip. In respect of winds and waves, the river is incomparably safer than the Ganges. On the latter we scarcely know an individual who has made two trips without having been wrecked in one.\*

Insurances on the Sutlej have not been effected, owing to the exaggerated opinions afloat as to the unsettled state of the Punjab. When a man travels among lawless people, he must, of course, make up his mind to suffer inconveniences, and need not be surprised if he be robbed. We will not therefore absolutely say that the Sutlej is as safe as the Thames; but we will say, that we know of no instance of plunder above Sukker during the last ten years. Doubtless, there have been some; but we feel certain that the number will fall short of those on the Ganges or Jumna.

Some apprehensions were entertained relative to the state of the lower Indus, owing to the proceedings of the Beloochees, last year (we lost our thousand rupees' worth, which we could ill spare); and when it is told that at Lahore throat-cutting is the favourite pastime, we naturally expect that on the border river the police cannot be very safe, but as yet at least it has not been otherwise; and were we Bombay merchants, we should not fancy a safer or a pleasanter speculation than that which we are now about to describe.

Let one—or, better still, two capitalists—having the command of 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.*, start from Bombay about the end of October with a cargo of sundries (American *notions*), half for the Native, half for the European market; the former including broad cloths, chiefly coarse cotton goods, hardware, and cutlery of all kinds; flint guns and pistols; powder, flints, glass ware (chiefly ornamental), toys, haberdashery of all kinds; strong liquors; bar and sheet iron; spices; two or three good strong buggys, and nic-nacs of various sorts.

For the European community, all sorts of mess stores, such as are indented for by regimental messes, including stationery; blue, red, and dark grey broad-cloths; hardware, saddlery, &c. &c.

\* In our own second voyage we were cast ashore, lost our little all after our stout *Budgerow* had buffeted for two days with an October storm, and was the sole survivor of a fleet of sixty boats. On our next Ganges excursion we certainly should have experienced a like fate, had we not been in a large strong pinnace, in which leaving the rocky and dangerous coast of Dinapore, where we were at anchor, we put well out and ran into a snug berth up the river Soane. We shall not hastily make a fourth trip on the same troublous waters.

Let all the stores for Europeans and Natives be of good quality, and the liquors and provisions of the very best kind ; and, above all, let the beer be excellent, or you have not a chance with the Bengalees.

Two or three days before reaching Hyderabad, Sukker, Ferozepoor, and Loodiana, send on an intelligent native agent gifted in many tongues in a row-boat with printed circulars, and your cargo-boats need not be detained a day at any station ; and having disposed of all or most of your freight, you will have reached Roopur before the hot weather has set in—when having brought your own saddles, you will buy a couple of ponies, and finding a bungalow at Budya, and another at each stage a head, will easily reach Simla in three marches over a most beautiful country.

You can there enjoy as fine a climate as any in the world. If you are sick, get well ; if well, get better. You may at least regain the use of your legs, which you had doubtless lost in your Bombay counting-house. You may play billiards, visit the reading room, and hear more scandal in a day than in the course of your travels you had ever before heard in a year. You may see babies' heads held under cold water spouts at Anandale ; you may take part in pic-nics there, and even ride Sky Races in the same Elysium ; but are you idle all this time ? Not in the least. You will talk to Gerard, and to Pengree, to Erskine, and to (General) Tapp ; and you will hear of wool, and of honey, of dyes, and of timbers ; and if you are wise, you will slip out to Kotgurh ; going down towards the Sutlej from Maharoo, and other points beyond it ; and if you do not fancy the trip back by the bed of the river, you will at least see it at two or three different points ; and doubtless you will open your eyes and wonder what those magnificent forests were meant for ; and you will turn over in your mind that the tree you can cut for five rupees (the smaller are only one rupee), and take to the river below for ten or twenty, may sell at Bombay for three hundred. Within a month, you are back at Simla. You have made your contract, and bound down the rogue of a contractor, under heavy penalties, before Mr. Hodgson, the magistrate, to furnish you with five hundred timbers (of fixed girths) at Roopur by the 15th of October ; you are doing a little yourself in other ways, and your servants are preparing and loading at Roopur, Loodianah, and Ferozepoor, your return cargo of pushmenahs, wool, sugar, borax, iron, lac, ginger, turmeric, dye woods, indigo, horns, and hides. You may even take grain with advantage to Sukker ; but this the bazar nerricks of the day will tell you. Beyond a doubt, everything you had brought up will, by the

middle of October, be sold off: you will yourself be a new man—perhaps a married one; and can have prepared very comfortable mat (lined with sirhee and cloth) cabins for your wife; and taking your timber rafts in tow, you move down the Sutlej in triumph, having done yourself much good (not the least in having got a wife), opened out the resources of a mighty river for your country, and with the pleasing certainty before you that your speculation will within fourteen months of your departure give you a return at Bombay of cent. per cent. But suppose it is only fifty per cent. how better could you have spent your time and money?

You might either buy or hire boats—the price is one rupee per maund burthen or five hundred rupees for a boat of as many maunds burthen—such a boat would require five men, at four rupees each per month, to navigate it, with a steersman at six rupees; a thousand maund boat would require eight or nine men. By good arrangements the boatmen while at Roopur need not be idle, but employed in aiding your agents in collecting cargo. To hire boats you would not get them at less than four annas per maund per month, but not at double or quadruple that sum if any demand should arise for boats on the river for military purposes.

We have gone somewhat more than we intended into detail on the matter of this interesting speculation, and our only wonder is that what is so plainly profitable should have been so long untried—we trust it will not long continue so.

What has been said concerning the Sutlej may in a general way be said of the other rivers of the Punjab, as to their capabilities; but, alas, to nothing else. Wood comes down the Byas, above which there are even finer forests than on the Sutlej; but except as ferries, and in carrying Rajah Golab Singh's salt on the Jhelum, and in removing grain from one point of a large revenue farmer's district to another, we scarcely know of any use that boats are at present made of in the Punjab? Such of the Umritsur traders as get up Europe goods have agents at Ferozepoor, and some have got up large investments. We have seen a bill of lading direct from London in the hands of a Nouria agent at the Ferozepoor Ghat.

Four of the Doabs are called (says Major Browne) after the rivers between which they are situated; the Sindsagur being that between the Sind or Indus and the Jhelum; the Jenhat or Chenat, that between the Jhelum and Chenab; the Retchna, between the Ravee and Chenab; the Bary between the Byas and the Ravee; the fifth and richest is called the Beit Jullunder; Burnes says from the town of Jullunder; but

the Doab was there before the town; and Major Browne, the oldest authority on the subject, in his map, spells the Doab as *Jalinder*, and the town as *Jeledur*, evidently not deriving one name from the other. This last is the smallest, but on the whole the best cultivated division of the country; it grows all grains and large quantities of sugar cane. Between the Beas and Ravee again (the Bary Doab) to the north-east is beautiful cultivation; and it is inhabited by a hardy race of Jauts, the stock from which the Manjah Sikhs sprung (this being the Manjah). As the traveller approaches Lahore, cultivation ceases and for miles north-east, south and south-west, except a little garden cultivation, there is little or no trace of the husbandman's hand. Indeed, it would almost appear as if purposely devastated; but no purposed plan was required where for fifty years has been a large standing camp of Sikhs whose foragers spreading across the country, even in the best and strongest days of Runjeet, carried with them desolation. This (the Bary) is the largest of all the Doabs except that of the Scinde. The Bary includes Moultan, which portion is tolerably well cultivated. The Ketchna and Jenhat Doabs grow good crops, but have extensive grass plains; the soil is light, but in many parts capable of producing any crops. The Sind is the largest, and at the same time the richest and the poorest of all the divisions; to the north and northern centre it is intersected by many ranges and ridges of hills, between which, however, are beautifully rich valleys; to the southward stretches the great desert to the bounds, one side of Moultan, on the other of Dera Ghazee Khan; southward again, towards Mithunkote, cultivation increases; but the chief produce of this Doab is from its salt mines, which are in lease to Rajah Golab Singh, who pays, we understand, twenty lakhs of rupces a year, and probably clears an equal sum himself. The principal mines are between Julalpoor and Pindadun Khan. We once descended one and a very picturesque sight it was. A shaft of a hundred or more feet took us into a gallery, whence, proceeding as far, we suddenly emerged into an arched hall of great height, and perhaps eighty or a hundred yards diameter; there we found the workmen by lamp light clearing great wedges of pure salt from the glittering wall; from day to day they carve their way, and when the roof appears dangerous, or water-springs become troublesome, the shaft is closed and another opened; the blocks are neatly cut into loads of a maund, carrying which the workmen safely toil their way up the steep ascent. On mules, bullocks, and camels it is then carried to Jhelum, Julalpoor and Pindadun Khan, or latterly we believe

only to the last place, and there sold at fixed prices to traders, or carried by Golab Singh's own servants to various markets for sale. It is a very pure salt; its monopoly is more closely guarded than that of the Company's salt, with whose sale it interferes on the Sikh border.

The Seinde Doab is a very strong country; south, as being a desert, without water; north, from its mountainous nature. We were never so much surprised as on one occasion, after crossing the Punnee plains, to find ourselves entangled in ravines and ridges, not less formidable than those which obstruct the traveller to the west of the Indus.

The Derajat, or camps of Ghazee Khan and Ismael Khan, being the centre of productive districts, are beyond the Indus, as are Kohat and the Yusufzye country. The plains of all these the Sikhs occupy, as well as all Peshawur. They send out detachments also, at fitting seasons, and make collections in Bunnoo Tank, and the other districts yielded by Shah Soojah; but if it were not for the honour of having the throats of a few of their troops annually cut, it would be as well to let alone such customers as the Vuzeerees and Kuttueks.

The northern hills of Kishtwar, Rajaore, Rannugger, Chumba, and Jumboo, can hardly be called part of the Sikh empire. They pay nothing to it, or, rather, their present rulers prey on the Khalsa. Cashmere might pay fifty lakhs of rupees—has paid thirty; and now, we believe, pays eighteen. Its present Governor, as already observed, was placed there by Rajah Golab Singh, and we doubt not will be the last Sikh ruler of the country. We mean, of course, the last emissary from the Sikh government; for, as his name denotes, Sikh Golan Mohioodeen is a Mahomedan, and we have not a doubt will transfer Cashmere to Golab Singh, whenever the Rajah is prepared to hold it.

The eastern hills of Mundee, Kooloo, Sukeet, &c., have, as narrated, been lately brought under more direct rule, but whether as tribute, or let to farmers, the produce from them is trifling.

We have already shown, by a quotation, that though the Cis Sutlej possessions are estimated at twelve lakhs, not above four lakhs reach the Lahore treasury; and having now gone the circuit of the Lahore territory, we may estimate their total revenue at much what the province of Lahore is stated by Bernier to have yielded in the reign of Aurungzebe, viz., two hundred and forty-six lakhs of rupees, being somewhat less than two and a half millions of money. This is a curious coincidence, as the old province contained much that Lahore now does not, and



Lahore now enjoys many districts that were then beyond her bounds. In fact, in no part of the world have land-marks, the bounds of villages, purgunnahs and districts, been more entirely swept away than within the Sikh dominions; and it is even now difficult to trace in the Ayceen Akbery (Aboolfazel) any resemblance to the divisions of the country, though now often bearing the same names as of old.

Though two and a-half millions may be considered as the revenue of the country, one million at least goes to jagherdars, and other feudatories, so that not above one and a-half reaches the treasury. The rulers of the country, whether Mussulman or Sikh, have so long rack-rented it,—marauder after marauder has so long plundered it, and through the length and breadth of the land there has been so little motive for improvement, or rather for ordinary tillage, that the wonder is whence so much yearly treasure is derived, and no one can doubt that under a better system,—under one that established fixed rates, and enforced those rates against Tuhsildars and their myrmidons—the cultivation of the Punjab might in a twelvemonth be doubled.

Sir John Malcolm, in the year 1805, considered the Sikh country to have been that between  $28^{\circ} 40'$  and  $32^{\circ}$  north latitude: if so, they must have then occupied much further to the south, and less to the northward than at present; and we believe that they did conquer, or at least plunder down to the very gates of Delhi. But now that country, including all dependencies, and the Sikh States under British protection, the latter occupying perhaps fifteen thousand square miles, mixed up, but generally lying south of the Cis-Sutlej, Lahore territory; that is all the Sikh chiefships. Malwa and Manjha are included within  $30^{\circ}$  and  $34^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, and  $70^{\circ}$  and  $77^{\circ}$  east longitude. This general statement takes in Peshawur, Cashmere, and all that part the Sikhs, on either side of the Sutlej, call or claim as their own; to the north-east their bounds do not quite reach  $34^{\circ} 20'$ , but S. W. at Mithunkote project south of  $30^{\circ}$ ; the area, therefore, included between the parallels and meridians noted, will give a pretty fair idea of the space subject to the disciples of Nanuk and Govind; and will be found to equal half the area of Spain and Portugal.

The land throughout the Sikh territory is let out to farmers of one kind or another. Thus Rajah Golab Singh is renter of large districts between the Jhelum and Indus; Soochet Singh was renter of Wuzeerabad; neither of them ever living on these lands, but employing their servants to collect the Government portion of a half or a third of the crop, according to circumstances—such

servants being ex-officio judge and magistrate, as well as collector; and invariably taking, in every case brought before them, a bribe from one or sometimes from both parties or as Prinsep observes a Shookurani (thankoffering) from him who won; or a jurimana from him who lost. Sawun Mull manages Moultan in much the same manner—he pays his fixed quota at Lahore, and all else is left to himself.

The transit and town duties of the Lahore Government have long been under the same individual, who we sometimes see mentioned in the news-letters of the local press as a custom-house officer, but the fact is that Moor Rulla Ram is a man of great consequence; pays from twenty to thirty lakhs a year to the treasury; rules the ghats and ferries all over the country; and has relatives and dependants in various high offices under the government.

About Wuzerabad and Jhelum, fine and hardy camels are procurable. The Dhunnee Horse, from between Julalpoor and Cuttack, is a blood animal capable of much endurance. The Seikh horsemen generally breed their own cattle, and often on the most distant expeditions have colts running at their heels. The Punjab mule is a hardy animal; they are chiefly to be procured about Moultan, where asses of a very large size are to be found. The majority of the Seikh Sowars are attended by a man of all work, who cooks for them, helps to groom their horses, and cuts grass, or corn, whichever may be handiest; and on the march sits perched on the top of his master's baggage, and horse-gear on an unfortunate mule, and keeps up at the rate of four or five miles an hour, being especially wide awake in the event of an enemy being on the flanks or in the rear, or plunder being in prospect ahead.

The Seikhs are admirable foragers, which is equivalent to saying that they are desperate plunderers—but even where they may happen to be restrained, or where no booty is to be obtained, it is astonishing how readily they adapt themselves to circumstances. We have seen a couple of British regiments sit for hours at a place for want of wood to cook, where in the course of an hour as many Seikhs would have had their pots boiling. Being very scantily supplied with carriage, the foot soldiers usually on a march carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of grain and clothes on their backs, or more usually on their heads. It does not, according to our notions, look very soldier-like to see long strings of soldiers on a line of march carrying burthens; but on occasions it has proved to themselves most useful—indeed has saved them from starvation.

The Sikh army at this time may be considered to amount to about seventy-six thousand men of all arms, being

Regular Infantry.....	35,000	} The Irregular Horse might be doubled, and the Irregular Infantry quadrupled in a few months.
Irregular Infantry .....	10,000	
Regular Cavalry .....	4,000	
Irregular of all classes ditto	25,000	
Artillerymen .....	2,000	
Total		76,000

In this we include Raja Heera Singh's Hill Troops, but not those of Raja Golab Singh, who has probably twenty or even thirty thousand men at command.

The Sikh Regular Infantry is composed of fine men, and in all respects we consider both Infantry and Cavalry to be equal to that of any native power in India—to be in no respect inferior to the Gwalior troops that fought at Maharajpooor. The Cavalry are in appearance inferior to the Infantry, and we consider are really so. Both have Hindustanis, Sikhs, and Punjab Mussulmans mixed up in the ranks—some regiments being formed chiefly of Sikhs, some having few of them.

The embodied Irregular Infantry are nearly as good as the Regulars—sometimes we consider, as observed of the Nujeebs and Rangoles, superior; but with one or other their conduct depends mainly on their officers, and the majority of these are very bad—that is, they are ignorant persons mostly promoted for very different qualities than those which become the soldier.

The Irregular or Goorchura Horse is of various kinds. The strict Goorchura is the Sikh yeoman, often a man with a well or two of land in his village, or sometimes possessed of the whole village. He considers himself, in all respects, a gentleman, and has much of the feeling of a soldier. His horse is his own, and he can afford to feed it; he is therefore well mounted, follows the banner of some Sirdar, on the footing of a misuldar, tabildar or jaghirdar as explained elsewhere. If well handled, we doubt not that in the event of a war in which the Punjab Sikhs generally joined, fifteen or twenty thousand such horsemen could be added to the Cavalry now on the roll; and as many more of inferior sort—dependants of the above, or of Sirdars obliged to bring certain quotas into the field. These last are generally very inferior to the former. The men are often low Mahommedans, Rungreta Sikhs, and getting mere subsistence—often not more than a seer (two pounds) of flour for themselves and three seers of vetches for their horses, with fifty or at the utmost a hundred rupees a year, they cannot be expected

to be very efficient soldiers. The population of the Lahore territory, highland, and lowland, having long been accustomed to arms, the rulers have no difficulty in raising, on occasion, large bands of irregulars, whom they call Moolkeas, or Mookhyas. These men they arm with long matchlocks and swords, and though often disaffected, by putting them into positions where their own safety depends on their valour, their masters get good service out of them. Thus the Rajpoots of Kooloo and Mundee are sent to combat the Yusufzyes or Kyberees, while troublesome and refractory Seikh or Mahommedan tributaries are put to bridle the Kooloo and Mundee people. From all that are distrusted, hostages are required; or money security taken. Sooltan Mahommed and Peer Mahommed of Peshawur have always each a son or more at Lahore, and even the Khan of Mundote is occasionally requested to send his brother or attend himself at Durbar, although his unfortunate contingent, perhaps at the other end of the Yusufzye country at the time, are ample security for his fealty.

The Seikh artillery is very bad. The guns are almost worthless—the majority old and honey-combed, and the inner surfaces very uneven, from the practice of firing shot, which being prepared by the hammer and hand, are anything but round. The carriages are worse than the guns; they are made of unseasoned wood, and of all fashions, after the fancy of the carpenters attached to brigades. We have been told by an artilleryman engaged during the three days' cannonading at Lahore, previous to Sher Singh's capture of the citadel, that out of a hundred and fifty or more guns employed by the besiegers, not one in ten was in a serviceable state at the end of the three days' firing: the trail of one being broken, a wheel of another, and so forth. The harness is quite in keeping with the carriages; the gear of an Irish jaunting car gives the best notion of it; but, like such cars, it is astonishing to see how Seikh guns get over the road. When a gun breaks down, or the tackle gives way, the Seikh or Mussulman gunner is as ready and energetic as an Irishman. The carpenter who is at hand puts all to right for the time in a twinkling; or a piece of rope makes good the rotten thong; when away goes the team again; and at the next rut (and there are plenty of them) off goes a wheel and down comes the gun; again all hands are at work, not a man is idle; now they are right again, all ready, off at a gallop—and the column is overtaken.

From the above, it will be observed that we consider the Golundauzes proper fellows. Throughout India they are the best soldiers in the army; they have great esprit de corps; they idolize their guns; they do better, they deify them. The Punjabee gunners, always in difficulties, and having to trust to their own ingenuity and energy to get out of them, are real rough-

and-ready boys; nothing comes amiss to them, and with good materiel and good officers, they would be a most efficient artillery—but as to officers, it cannot be said that they have any. A Jemadar on a scale of pay a rupee or two above that of a Golundauze, is in charge of each gun; the man possibly was a very good gunner; but knows nothing whatever of the science of his business. Over every six, twelve, or twenty guns is a captain, a colonel, or a general, who perhaps never was an artilleryman at all until he reached the top of the tree. The artillery generals are certainly of this class, and few of any rank have any theoretical knowledge of gunnery. The best horses in the Punjab are given to the artillery, but as their horse-artillery ape our Bengal fashion of riding the off as well as near horses, their small cattle are borne down by the undue burthen imposed upon them.

The foot-artillery guns are partly drawn by horses, partly by bullocks; and the waggons of all are drawn by the latter, or often the ammunition is placed in boxes and laden on camels: the men, horse and foot, are of the same class, and are chiefly Mahomedans; but size and strength, not caste, is looked for in recruits throughout the Punjab service.

The powder is bad, and of unequal strength. Instead of having one manufactory, they prepare it all over the country. Sawun Mull is to-day ordered to send a hundred maunds of powder to the capital; the Kardar of Jhelum to-morrow; and Dr. Haningsburgh, at Lahore, gets a similar order, perhaps, on the third; all is delivered to the man of many duties, Faker Noorooden, the brother of Azeezooddeen, who does not know whether the powder is good or bad, and doubtless has cogent reasons for not prying too closely into the matter. We have seen cartridges, taken from the same pouch, some of the shot of which have ranged very well, whilst others have fallen almost at the feet of the Golundauzes.

Round shot is beaten by hammer and hand; grape and canister they prepare well enough; but their shells are made of copper, and they have little or no idea of fuses, or of howitzer and mortar practice.

There are few large guns in the country—perhaps fifty or sixty, chiefly at Lahore and Umritsur, of twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders; and throughout the country possibly four hundred guns might be produced (exclusive of Rajah Golab Singh's). Many of these are four and three pounders, and the majority of not more than six-pounders; their weight of metal usually exceeds ours, and a four-pounder is often as heavy as our light sixes.

The Sikhs might bring a hundred and fifty pieces of kinds into the field; and, when in position, the guns would be well served—

better than we can conceive possible with such tools; and, doubtless, accustomed to their weapons and to their materials, the Sikh gunners would handle them better than could more scientific artillerymen.

They have also several hundred Purmeer men carrying long duck (like) guns, which they rest on the ground or on tripods; they also can bring into the field five hundred camel-swivels; which are fired while the camel is either standing or kneeling. We have seen an object of a foot square knocked over at the second shot with a swivel.

A word or two regarding officers. The bravest and best are gone,—General Court, and the other French officers, the Sindhawala Sirdars, Rae Kesree Singh, Rajah Soochet Singh, and others less known to fame. There are, therefore, few left but the men of the late revolutions. They may be good or bad; some are, doubtless, one, some the other; most will, however, fight for the rank they have so lately obtained. We have then the remnants of the old Sirdars, Futteh Singh Man; Utter Singh Kaliwaal, Tej Singh, Sham Singh Uttarewala, Chuttur Singh, Lena Singh Majetia, the Aloowala Sirdars, the Mundote Khan, and some others, scarcely one of whom can be true to the Lahore Government, constituted as it is at present. For it is not a Sikh Government, but a Government of the Dogra Battalions in the Sumnun Boorj, supported by the regular troops, induced for the time to serve Heera Singh by the receipt of high pay, and frequent largesses: and above all by the consideration that no other man has yet arisen with ability, energy, and courage to rule the state. And they know full well that their existence as an army rests on the integrity and independence of the Punjab.

The first occasion on which, after his accession, Sher Singh was called on by the British Government to furnish troops, was when the families of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk and Zeman Shah passed through the Punjab to Cabool in May and June, 1841. The Sikh escort, though commanded by a respectable but timid officer, Colonel Cheyt Singh, felt continually inclined to plunder their charge; and erroneously believing that with the Zenana was much treasure, probably might have done so, had they not found in Capt. (now Major) Broadfoot a strong spirit to cope withal. The Major was a bit of a diplomatist,—perhaps too much so,—though we are sure he was not aware of it; his politics, however, were of the sort that tell in the Punjab; and when, near the Jhelum or the Attok, he was not only threatened by his own escort, but his further passage impeded by another Sikh regiment or brigade, on the way to or from Peshawur. He parleyed with them, received and talked to their emissaries.

ries (being a punchayut, or representatives, from the insurgents), and told them that he would oppose force to force. He had with him five or six hundred Goorkha recruits, and half a dozen excellent officers, the whole being the nucleus of that corps of Sappers and Miners, which, within the year, did such good service; and afterwards covered themselves, and their leaders, Broadfoot, Orr, and Cunningham, all Madras officers, with glory at Jullalabad, and during the operations of Gen. Pollock.

When Broadfoot found matters coming to extremity, he took his opportunity, and seized and confined the Punchayut. We do not mean that he took any unfair advantage over them, but believe that they were the captives of his spear. The boldness of the step, doubtless, astonished their constituents, and the *kafila* was allowed to reach Peshawur in safety; but it found General Avitabile in all the horrors of his military insurrection, and uncertain at the time whether to decimate his battalions, or himself to fly through the Khyber, and take refuge with the British in Afghanistan.

Towards the end of that year, when the insurrection broke out in Afghanistan, and British troops were required to be hastily sent up to Peshawur, the Durbar,—that is, the Maharajah and his minister,—offered every facility; but not so the underlings. It was clear to all, that few in the Punjab, besides Sher Singh, sympathised with the British; and when some Sikh battalions and brigades, and the Charyaree horse, were ordered up to co-operate with the British troops, every sort of excuse and delay, short of open refusal, was made. Indeed, we are not sure that further donatives had not to be applied to induce them to move. As it was, they advanced on Peshawur at the rate of four or five miles a day, abusing the Feringhees and declaring they would join the Afghans against them. The first brigade, which reached Peshawur, was that of Mahtab Singh Majetia, a young debauchee, who owed his rank of General to his being a boon companion of the new Maharajah. He had little influence over his troops, and what he had was misapplied: he and his four regiments sat down at Peshawur, and, when most wanted, failed in assisting Brigadier Wild in his attempt to relieve Jullalabad. The Charyaree Horse, always a troublesome set, wanted not Mahtab Singh's example to be as useless as he was. Twelve hundred Mussulman Jagirdar Horse, that had been employed in the Yosufzye country were also drawn to Peshawur, and with two Nujeeb battalions, and two Mussulman corps, the majority of the whole being of the faithful, formed what was called the Contingent, fixed by the tripartite treaty, to be at the service of Shah Soojah, if required. All these were placed under General Avitabile, and ordered by

the Maharajah to be especially at Brigadier Wild's service ; but these very men had been employed under Capt. Wade in holding posts around Ali Musjid, after the capture of that place in the hot-weather of 1839, until Sir John Keane came down from Cabul in the ensuing cold weather.

In their stockaded positions, near the British post at Ali Musjid, the Nujeebs, as indeed did the English Sepoys, suffered severely from sickness. At a post within a mile of Ali Musjid, half the detachment of eight hundred men was ineffective, when the Khyburees made a sudden attack, and cut up several hundred,—doubtless, including many of the sick ; for the routed party were driven pell-mell out of the Pass. The small garrison of Ali Musjid had not the means of helping them, further than with powder which they supplied them with ; but a British detachment, being within sight of their overthrow, was a source of much bitterness. The whole duty of the Mussulman contingent at that time was tiresome and unpleasant, and their having received no reward for it, or commiseration for the massacre of their comrades, was stated to be the chief cause of their present shameful conduct towards Brigadier Wild. They had their grievances ; what native state that boasts a hundred soldiers does not give them a thousand causes of discontent ? Besides, the Nujeebs, Mussulmans, Ramgoles, and like corps in the Seikh service, are kept for dirty work ; and, though containing as fine men, are not supposed to have as fine feelings as the regular Pultuns. Whatever may have been the cause, the four regiments behaved as ill as men could do—mutinying the very night previous to the attack on the Khybur ; and, after thrashing their officers, marching off at midnight to Peshawur, and compelling Brigadier Wild to attempt the Pass unaided.

General Mahtab Singh's brigade was close by, and was asked to make a diversion ; but he would not ; and the Seikh troops then at Peshawur seemed generally to desire the destruction of the British. When, a few days afterwards, on two successive days, attacks were made by Brigadier Wild in order to cover the retreat of two of his regiments from Ali Musjid, General Avitabile's Ramgoles and some hundred of his personal retainers made a diversion in the Jubogee pass. These Ramgoles, under their commandant Doola Singh, are by no means bad troops ; they for months did duty in the Khybur, after General Pollock's advance, and were the same who, on Sher Singh's murder, and on the distribution of largesses, not getting their share, marched *sans permission* to Lahore, and unfortunately for themselves arrived when Heera Singh happened to be rather strong, so were treated cavalierly, ordered to return, and were refused gratuity, or pay either, on which, after clamouring for a time, they went over



to Peshora and Kashmera Singh at Sealkote, fought well for them, and afterwards against superior numbers, when Utter Singh and Peshora Singh fell.\*

General Court's brigade, to which he had very unwillingly returned, was now at Peshawur; and, shortly after General Pollock's arrival, some twenty thousand Sikh Regulars were assembled; but the several camps seemed more those of enemies than of friends. Their soldiery insulted our English officers, whenever they met them, and tried in every way to mislead and alarm the British Sepoys. General Pollock showed great tact and discretion; he remonstrated with Rajah Golab Singh, who had arrived as commander-in-chief; he took precautions to prevent the Sikhs coming into camp, as far as it could be done; and finally he induced them to move up the Jubogee Pass, while he forced the main, or Shadee-Bugiarce, entrance with the British troops.

General Avitabile always said that "the sight of the Khybur gave the Sikhs the cholera:" and now their fears were to have no salve, and they were required to fight for the hated and dreaded Feringees. It is therefore wonderful that they went at all; they had done all they could to intimidate the British, but now finding that the latter had fixed their day, and as it was not usual for them to do so and falter, the Sikhs expected an advance would be made without them, and their faces blackened before the Maharajah and before Hindostan. These motives worked within them; but, above all, they were induced by the timely arrival of Sirdar Boodh Singh, a favourite of Sher Singh, and afterwards killed by his side, who at Mr. Clerk's desire was sent up dawk, with positive orders. He must have brought a word or two likewise from the Warwick of the Punjab; for a sudden change came over his brother Rajah Golab Singh, on Boodh Singh's arrival. His fears, real or affected, for his own life from the Sikhs were thrown off. Orders were now not only given to advance the camps towards the Khybur, but the orders were acted on; and the whole plain of Peshawur was soon covered with baggage and straggling bands of horse and foot; and what surprised the British more than all was, that they were less insulted, less jeered at; English passers-by now, for the first time, got a salute or a civil speech, instead of gross abuse, or a "Well, are you come from Cabool?" or "That's not the road to Cabool," with varieties, all referring to the late disaster.

General Pollock gained his glorious victory, and the Khalsa came in for their meed of praise. They then occupied the pass up to

\* We need not be so much surprised at "the Punjab of Lahore" figuring in London prints, when one of our local papers placarded poor Doola Singh's corps of Ramgoles into "the Rebel Ramgoul, whose wife and family were ordered to be seized and imprisoned;"—a pretty capacious prison, forsooth, would have been required!

Ali Musjid, and very unwillingly kept it until the return of the British army in November. They despatched, too, the Mussulman contingent (the old recusants, now talked over by Golab Singh, instead of being flogged, or fusiladed into propriety) in June to Julalabad, where they behaved well, with the exception of, at an early day, evincing their displeasure at the Seikh General Golab Singh Povindea—one of the heroes of the attack on the citadel of Lahore—by burning his tent, and driving the poor old man in terror to General Pollock for refuge.

Five hundred of them, under Capt. Lawrence, accompanied General Pollock to Cabool, while the rest held positions at Necmla and Gundamuk, and altogether they were of more service to the British army than could have been expected. Their tone quite changed when through the Khybur, and they became as civil as they had been insolent. Of the five thousand, the majority were Mahommedans, with about a tenth of Seikhs and Hindoos, the former mostly from the British provinces.

We may here, not inappropriately, say a few words on the subject of the Akalies :—"The Ukalees, or worshippers of the eternal (Ukalu poorooshu)," says Mr. Ward, "under the double character of fanatic priests and private soldiers, have usurped the sole direction of all religious affairs at Umritsurn, and are consequently leading men in a council, which is held at that sacred place, and which deliberates under all the influence of religious enthusiasm. Agreeably to the historians of that nation, they were first founded by Gooroo Govinda, whose institutes, as it has been before stated, they most zealously defended against the innovations of the Voiragee Bunda. They wear blue chequered clothes, and bangles or bracelets of steel round their wrists, initiate converts, and have almost the sole direction of the religious ceremonies at Umritsurn, where they reside, and of which they deem themselves the defenders, and consequently never desire to quit it unless in cases of great extremity. This order of Seikhs have a place or Boonga on the bank of the sacred reservoir of Umritsurn, where they generally resort: they are individually possessed of property, though they affect poverty, and subsist upon charity; which, however, since their numbers have increased, they generally extort by accusing the principal chiefs of crimes, imposing fines upon them, and, in the event of their refusing to pay, preventing them from performing their ablutions, or going through any of their religious ceremonies, at Umritsurn."—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi.—This is now hardly correct. The Akalies (immortals,—deathless) have lost much of their influence since the cessation of Goroomatas; nor do we consider them now as priests, but as ruffian soldiers, who instead of being fixtures, are to be found all over the Punjab, indeed all over India. The Grun-

thees, or readers of the Grunth, and Poojarees, or priests, even at Umritsur, are not Akalies; and though they have a boonga, and a very handsome one, capped with gold, and still hold more influence there than elsewhere, it is because they are at that holy spot in greater numbers than at Lahore or other places. There are many boongas, all fine buildings, surrounding the Holy Tank; each missul has a boonga, and, if we recollect rightly, several chiefs have private ones.

We were slightly annoyed by the Akalies at Umritsur, but neither there, nor elsewhere, have we found them the desperadoes they are described. As Rajah Golab Singh would say, they mean no harm by their abuse, and we have often found that where four or five would come to our quarters and swagger a little, they could always be put into excellent humour by a little familiar conversation. Indeed, we can tell a story exemplifying this assertion. When General Pollock was at Peshawur, and all the Seikh soldiers were behaving as ill as they could, some Akalies visited ourselves. We gave them five rupees, and talked and joked to them; they boasted their prowess; we insinuated that the sight of the Khybur had frightened them, and that it had given the Khalsa army, as Avitabile used to say, "the Khybur cholera." They were indignant. "Well," was the reply, "I doubt not you are all heroes, and if you will only meet me at Ali Musjid, I will give you a zeaft" (literally, feast) of fifty rupees. "We'll do so," they answered. We doubted them much, but, laughing, called out to one, "I will call you Khybur Singh," and to another, "Ali Musjid Singh," and so on. They were much amused, and went away in high good humour; and, to our astonishment, we lost our rupees, for, when the time came, we were met with a shout by Ali Musjid Singh and Khybur Singh in the middle of the defile.

Another of our experiences was not so pleasant. We had made a very long march, and, coming up to our ground at Kurrukpoor, near Lahore, our tent not being pitched, got permission to go into a hut, and, lying on a charpae, were soon asleep, when we were summarily upset by the charpae being tilted over. Still half asleep, we arose, and found an Akalie standing over us, sword in hand. "There is your pistol," quoth he, very unceremoniously pushing to us a little double-barrelled one, which had been under our pillow; adding, "What business had you in our sanctified dwelling?" He was very insolent, and we were strongly tempted to fire; but we kept our temper, only warning him to keep his distance, lest he should have cause to repent his audacity. Kurrukpoor is chiefly inhabited by Mussulmans, and we had with us twenty Mussulman horsemen, who would have liked nothing better than to have belaboured him well; but as we found we had unintentionally intruded in his dwelling, we let him escape

after showing him how effectually we could have punished his insolence, and after the Thanadar of the place had offered to seize him.—We happened then to be in favour at Durbar, and could therefore have ensured the Akali being dealt with as we desired.

Almost every European officer of character has left the Punjab; but some few Eurasian and vagabond adventurers remain. The sketch of John Brown and Fyz Ally, as given by *Bellasis*, affords a good notion of what deserters from the Indian army have to expect in a Native service—at best a splendid slavery, but more generally a life of ignominy, and the death of a dog—cut down by a mutinous ruffian, or made away with by the man he served, if thought to know too much, or to be inclined to return to the colours he had deserted. There are said to be several Europeans at Jumboo and Ryasi, but we scarcely know with what truth; and Rajah Golab Singh is not likely to enlighten us, but much more so to verify his statement of none such being in existence by putting the wretches out of it. He is not the man to furnish guides to his fastnesses.

The conduct of the Sirdars and their numerous followers will, however, in case of British interference, depend on the hopes held out to themselves. If they are satisfied that they will be treated as have Pattiala and the other protected Seikhs, they may, for honour's sake—for the pride of the Khalsa—try one tilt with us; but they will be found quite ready to change their allegiance. But if such indulgence is not guaranteed, and they are not satisfied that we are honest in our intentions, we shall find the Seikhs a more formidable enemy than, in our self-complacency, we imagine them to be; and the campaign will be found only to have begun when their strongholds are taken; for they will return to their true tactics and *invaliding* their fat and their worn out leaders, they will, under bold and energetic chiefs, ravage the country, ours, probably, as well as their own; and at least give us a great deal of trouble.

The Seikhs\* are separated into two great divisions; the followers of Nanuk or Nanukpootras (sons of Nanuk); and those who look only to Govind. The first, following the tenets of their founder, profess to be men of peace; the latter of war. The descendants of Nanuk are called Sodées, and those of Govind, Bedees. Both have large endowments throughout the Seikh States; and after all conquests it was usual to set aside a portion for the Church. The Soodees of Anundpoor Makowal, a few

\* Captain (afterwards) Colonel Franklin tells us that Zabita Khan, the Patan chief, who figured so conspicuously in the Delhi territory between the year 1770 and 1780, "had embraced the tenets of this extraordinary sect." This we doubt; however he may have allied himself with them, as have many other Patan chiefs.

miles to the east of Roopur on the Sutlej, may be considered the spiritual leaders of the Seikhs, and the chief Gooroo is a man of wealth and consequence, endowed with many villages. He is called in, on occasions of births and deaths and the naming of children, by the Sirdars; but he and many other Gooroos are more in the position of the German bishops of the olden time, than of the peaceful Churchmen of the present. The Nanuk-pootras are the Seikh traders; and those descended from the Founder himself, have many privileges as such, not the least, that they only pay half duties. They consequently accompany caravans as agents, passing them through the Seikh States on half terms, and freeing them by their presence from undue exactions and vexatious detentions. They are the only wood merchants on the Byas and Sutlej; and throughout the Seikh dominions act the part that Syuds do in Affghanistan.

Nanuk was only a reformed Hindoo; his noble answer (recorded by Malcolm), in reply to the offended Mahomedan, who rebuked him for lying with his feet towards Mecca, "Turn them, if you can, in a direction where God is not," is a fair specimen of the man whose life was spent in doing good, and in teaching peace and unanimity to bigoted Moslems and senseless Hindoos. But, as observed in our historical sketch, the Seikhs were driven into disaffection, and the people who might, if gently dealt with, or altogether neglected by the authorities, have merged into one of the many purer divisions of Hindooism, were in their own defence impelled to arms, and acquired strength and courage in persecution, until they drove their Mahomedan tyrants from the land, and conquering towards Delhi, met the Mahrattas and then the British, whom like causes (the oppression and then the weakness of the Mahomedans) had brought from the south and south west.

If Nanuk was a man of peace, Govind was essentially a man of war. His injunctions to his followers are emblematic of his character. "It is right to slay a Mahomedan, wherever you meet him. If you meet a Hindu, *beat him* and plunder him, and divide his property among you. Employ your constant efforts to destroy the countries ruled by Mahomedans. If they oppose you, defeat and slay them."

And they did slay and conquer, and by turns were slain and conquered; and now that they have no foreign field on which to expend themselves, their arms are turned on one another. Indeed, this was very early their amusement, and it has often occurred that the two or more Sirdars holding a town or a fort, were at mortal feud; barricades divided the Muhulas (quarters) of each; and dropping shots during the day, or fierce rushes, one to over-

whelm the other, during the night, were of frequent occurrence.

The Sikhs originally conquered much in the fashion of the Mahrattas. They did not always at once subdue particular districts: but their cavalry swept the country at harvest; compounded for the crops; came, as opportunity offered, next year or in after years; repeated the game, and established what they considered a claim for Rakee, equivalent to the Mahratta chouth. Lands so visited became the recognised Shikargah (hunting-ground—considering men as games) of the misul or party that had originally entered, and interference with it was resented. In time, a part, or the whole of the hitherto ravaged lands, was formally occupied; the former proprietor (generally a rebellious servant of the Delhi throne, who had taken advantage of the troubles of the times to call himself Raja or Nawab, and withhold his revenue) was ousted, or permitted to retain a portion, large or small according to circumstances. Then arose the Sikh castle and the Sikh towers, opposed to the old ones, and at every crop-cutting a scene of dissension arose, worse in one sense than those already described; because it was now ended by the sword, and the weakest at once went to the wall. So far, perhaps, it was better; for the matter was quickly determined, and the cultivator, the only party who had any real right, was little molested, further than to carry the loads of both parties, and dispose of the dead.

Sikhs often ejected Sikhs, and both united to destroy the Mahomedans; though, sometimes forgetting their faith, even Patans and Sikhs would join in a particular scheme for getting rid of a Syud or a Sikh ruler, or *vice versa*. A respectable Syud chief, not long since, discussing with us the relative merits of Sikhs and Patans, made little difference between them,—one were Shaitans, the other some other sort of demons.

It is not very easy to form an accurate estimate of the Sikh population. The author of the *Adventurer in the Punjab* perhaps under-rates, and Burnes over-estimates, the population of the Punjab. Mr. Thornton, in his *Gazetteer*, sets down the number, as an “approximate computation,” at 4,740,000—this including the inhabitants of the entire Sikh country. The Punjabis themselves he estimates at three millions and a half. Of the entire population, probably, not much more than a tenth are Sikhs. In fact, it is astonishing how seldom a Sikh is met, in what is called the Sikh territory. Burnes gives agriculture and war as their callings: this is not correct, but rather trade and war. Their aboriginal stock, the Jauts, are splendid cultivators, and at first sight Hindoo Jauts are sometimes taken

for Seikhs. Soldiers, traders, idlers, and hungry dependents, comprise, in their various classes, all who have taken the pahul,\*—not that agriculture is forbidden, but that its labours do not suit the habits of a new people, fresh from conquest. In the course of several years' acquaintance with these people, we could count the numbers of times that we have seen a Seikh at the plough, although we have often seen them attend at the division of the crop, armed with sword and matchlock, as the Patan Putteedars to this day do, with their lattees (clubs) in Rohileund or Furrukabad.

Before bringing our article to a close, we must append to the preceding a few rough notes on the subject of the Protected Seikh states.

Ten years ago the eastern portion of the protected states under Mr. Clerk's management was a jungle, and habited by men of the worst classes—Goojurs, Brinjaries, and such like—who did not cultivate at all; but at one time grazed their own cattle, at another plundered their neighbour's.

Mr. Clerk endeavoured to get these lands cultivated, but was for a long time baffled, when he had the fortune to hear of Mr. Dawes,†—of his energy and respectability. They had some conversation; and the result was that Mr. Dawes took certain long leases: the terms he obtained were liberal, and, like a wise man, he gave as liberal terms to others. Contented to look to future profits, already his reward has arrived. Lands that gave him only a twentieth and a tenth, are now yielding to him the average purgannah rates of a fourth or fifth of the crop. True he has spent money in clearing away jungle, and even forest; and he has dug wells, where it was pronounced that wells could never be dug; but it has been less by money than by personal influence, and by personal labour, that he has achieved all this, and shown the rude people the advantages to themselves of industry, and in benefiting them he has advantaged himself. We learned from Mr. Dawes, that when he first settled at Dadoopoor (his residence) his kind employer, Col. Colvin, objected to his continued residence in such a place throughout the year, on account of its character for jungle fever; now the whole country is one sheet of cultivation, quite up to the Kadir Doon and the Nahn

\* The ceremony of initiation of a Seikh is called taking the Pahul. The process is described by Dr. Wilkins, and by the author of the *Adventurer in the Punjab*.

† Mr. Dawes came out in the Sappers some twenty-five years ago, and was early employed on the Delhi canals; for the last twenty years he has had charge of the works at the head of the canal that passes by Kurnaul; and, as a canal officer alone, has done more good than half the men in India; but it is as an agriculturist that we here mention him.

hills, where Mr. Dawes has driven the tiger from what, a few years back, were its haunts.

We fell in with Mr. Dawes in our rambles through the protected Sikh states; and before we proceed to more general matters, we may not inopportunately offer a characteristic anecdote or two acquired in the same trip that gained us Mr. Dawes' acquaintance. We were riding one morning through a large village, when, as in those parts an European gentleman is a rare sight, we were considered to be a civil official of some sort, and were accordingly accosted by a smart chuprassie, who doing us the favour to salaam, we entered into conversation with him. We asked the name of the village, and what he was doing there? He told us that it was the chief village of a small territory that had lately lapsed to Government by the death of an old Sikh lady; and that he was in charge, on the part of the British Tuhseeldar. Perceiving our curiosity excited, he told us there was a nice Bagh (garden), and a Baraduree (summer-house), with twelve doorways in the old fort; but seeing a very high tower close by we said, "Cannot we ascend it, and from the top inspect the country?" The man said there was no ladder; so in we went and examined the garden, prettily laid out, and tastefully planted, more in the European style than that of a rude Sikh village. The summer-house and rooms in the fort were also all in keeping with the garden; and having heard many praises of the old lady during our inspection, and having seen the specimens of her good taste, we were mounting our horses and departing, with a strong feeling in favour of the deceased, not unmixed with pity that her estate should have gone to the stranger, when our friend the chuprassie cried out, "Oh Sahib! we have got a ladder, you can ascend the tower." The said ladder happened to be a rope fastened to the doorway, which was not less than forty feet from the ground; however, not being quite as heavy as Col. Davidson, who, carrying eighteen stone, boasted his feats of agility, we managed to ascend; the chuprassie preceding, and two or three villagers following.

Having entered the doorway, we were crossing a low room to ascend a trap-door to the roof, when, observing an opening in the floor, we called for a bamboo, and feeling downwards, found that the depth below was not above six feet. Here our bamboo came in contact with some substance, from which an offensive smell arose. Our suspicions being excited, we called for a light, let it down by a rope, and discovered the half decomposed body of a human being, who must have died there, perhaps of famine, perhaps by violence, and under the



order of the old woman then so near her own end. Our horror was great, and all commiseration was changed into execration ; and charging the chuprassie to make all inquiries as to whose was the corpse, we rode off to our camp and wrote an account of what we had seen to the political agent.

Such towers and such cellars are common in the Seikh states. The latter are called Borahs, and are used for the imprisonment of political rivals, generally kinsmen, sometimes for murderers, and not unfrequently for revenue defaulters. A trap-door let down over the wretched inmate, the single sentinel may place his charpae, or if he has none his rezai (guilt) or other bedding, on it and go to sleep.

The baronial castles and towers of England, or the robber towers of the Rhine, may give some small idea of the old Seikh and, we may add, the old Malabatta system. But they can give little notion of the frequency of forts and towers in the Seikh states, often used as robbers' dens, and often built to protect the village cultivation from marauding horse, or even more deliberate attack.

In a dry country such as Upper India, land is nearly worthless that is not liable to river inundation, or to well irrigation. Land in the Seikh states, therefore, is counted by the wells, not by the quantity of ground ; and the man who tenaciously upholds his right to a thousand or even ten thousand acres, may only have a *well* of available land, or from thirty to forty acres—being the quantity that he can irrigate from the one well in his possession. To dig another would cost from a hundred to three hundred rupees, which the lords of a thousand acres cannot raise ; or if he could, would forthwith spend it at a single marriage festival. Each of these wells, in many parts of the Seikh states, is, or rather was, protected by a tower, into which the husbandman fled on emergency, and whence two or three matchlocks could keep at bay a host of horsemen. In other quarters, the traveller will come upon such towers in the midst of desert wilds, or the small (Jhund and Bun) forest that prevails through the Ladwa, Khytul, and some other states. We recollect a friend once telling us he had entered such a tower ; its door, which was close, was six or seven feet from the ground : he called out lustily, but could get no answer from within : he pelted the door with clods until it was half opened by an old crone, who asked his business—"Curiosity to know the name of the place, and that of the handsome young lady he was talking to," was the answer ; our friend was a proper looking fellow himself, and soon made an impression on the aged damsel, ascended, and gazed around. "What, good wo-

man, you say you are alone in this solitary tower, in the midst of such a wilderness?" She assured him she was. "What," replied our friend, "is then this yourspear and this your shield?" "Oh, they are my son's, who has gone to the neighbouring town: he is a chokedar, and those are his weapons." Looking further around, the visitor discovered in a nook a matchlock, with the marks of having been recently discharged. The old woman's eye was on him: she was now uneasy; but he, good-naturedly asked if that was her son's too, and while he spoke, up rose a shaggy head from the floor, and my friend found himself in the midst, and indeed in the power, of three stout ruffians, who perceived themselves more than suspected. There was, however, something in the air, we presume, of their unarmed visitor that daunted them, for they offered no molestation. A week afterwards the robber's hold was found vacated. The chance visit had doubtless been considered a domiciliary one, and their retiring place, no longer a refuge. Such towers, such dens, such deserts, are fast disappearing from the protected Sikh states. They have almost entirely vanished from the British Purgunnahs, many of which Captain Murray and Mr. Clerk found in an equally lawless and desert condition as is now the whole Kurnaul border of Jheend, Khytul, and Ladwa. Captain Murray commenced the reformation and reclamation, and was nobly followed up by Mr. Clerk; between them, they have made the village of Ambala into a large walled town, with streets and bazaars better laid out, and better built than any town with which we are acquainted in Upper India. The village lands all round are beautifully cultivated. It was Mr. Clerk's object not only to reclaim the land from pasture to grain culture, but to introduce cotton and sugar, and such remunerating crops. For this purpose he would make extensive tours, and give out seed to all likely to benefit by it; and the result has been that the value of land has doubled in the British Purgunnahs, within the last few years. Alone, he would ride for miles into the villages and fields, and converse with the people; and before they knew who he was, elicit information as to himself and his officials. We have described the "well of land"—often has a well provided the Khalsa with two or three Sirdars. Runjeet Singh's family were *raised*, as Jonathan says, on *well* patrimony. Lena Singh Majetia comes from the small village of Majetia, eight coss north of Umritsur, which alone has furnished half a dozen Sirdars, generals or colonels. Another but arbitrary division of land in the Sikh states, is still, as originally by horse-shares—having commenced by the rule, according to which every free Sikh horseman was entitled

to his puttee, or share of all conquests made by the common band. If a district then, or a single village, was acquired, a certain number of shares being set aside for the Sirdar or other leader of the expedition, all else was divided into equal portions, according to the number of Sikhs (originally chiefly horsemen) engaged in the enterprise, so that at this day many villages are divided into hundreds of portions or horse-shares, and the sovereignty is held by hundreds of families; for every Sikh in his puttee affected perfect independence. Great are the evils that have arisen therefrom in the protected states. According to the treaty, they were as long as possible not interfered with; and every Sirdar and every Putteedar, large or small, was his own magistrate and collector as far as his own internal arrangements went; the political agent only having authority in the quarrels and border disputes between one chief and another, or where robbers passed from one state into another. But it was soon found that, although some of the Sirdars managed their estates well enough, others and the petty Putteedars especially, harboured robbers, and tyrannized over their cultivators. Indeed, as their own families increased, and war and rapine decreased, there being no field left open but the Punjab army and agriculture for their sons, these Putteedars having tried every means of driving the sole cultivators from their lands, so that they might, through slaves or personal servants, cultivate the soil for themselves. Strictly speaking, we had no right to interfere, even under such oppression,\* but having laid themselves open by harbouring thieves and robbers, they were deprived of magisterial powers. But thus, while it was thought that a double benefit was gained, the police improved, the ryot protected, a still greater evil arose. The cultivators now finding that their former task-masters had no longer power to fine, imprison, and beat them, completely turned the table upon the land-owners and refused to pay them their lawful quotas. Weeks and months in every year are thus lost to both parties by their mutual re-creminations, and their never-ending appeals to authority. The cultivator *refuses* nothing and agrees before the magistrate to the correctness of the dustoor-ool-umud (or table of rules and rates) that has been prepared for both parties; but, again out in the village, he is as perverse and persevering as ever—he will not sow certain fields at all, and when the time for dividing the crop comes, he will not attend; or will not allow

\* The reader will understand the Sikh Putteedar to have been in the position of sovereign, and will remember that however arbitrarily the rulers of India have squeezed the ryot, they have seldom, and never with impunity, taken on themselves the right to eject the hereditary cultivators, whose rights have remained amid the ceaseless change of rulers.

any but his own appraiser to make the allotments, so that the result often is that the crops are but scantily grown, and then literally allowed to rot on the ground, because one or both parties are contumacious, it now being generally the cultivator, as formerly it was the Sikh ruler. The latter tried to oust the former; now the other tries to starve the Sikh, and drive him out of the village into foreign service, when his petty but vexatious rights of grass, wood, personal service, periodical presents, &c. will cease, the cultivator become master of his own village, and pay only in long arrears in cash, the estimated value of the other's portion.

Both sides of this picture are grievous; the first is a sample on a small scale of a bad Indian Government, which, in Roopur and Ladwa in the Sikh states under notice, leaves not only fields, wells, and villages deserted, but converts whole districts into wildernesses—the people emigrating into better governed states, and biding their time for happier days and a better ruler. Often, after such abandonment, the second, third, or fourth generation will return, and, unopposed, resume their patrimonial fields; their rulers glad to welcome them back, and having, perhaps, intermediately offered them inducements to return.

The case of the ryot oppressing his ruler may be considered an unlikely one, and possibly altogether an unreal picture; but it is common enough all over India—indeed, all over the world, where the law does not protect the master, or where the sword is not in his hand. Nothing more clearly shows the misery engendered by British interference in native states, where either our bayonets must enforce tyranny, or, having taken the means out of the ruler's hands to enforce his rights, we leave him at the mercy of his subjects. Thus is it in Oude and elsewhere—the large Talookdars are just in the position of the cultivators in Sikh Putteedary villages. They are either harried and plundered, or they do not pay at all,—that is, they pay five or ten thousand rupees when they should pay a lakh, and their weaker neighbours are over-taxed to make up the deficiency.

We hear much of British oppression, and our pages contain much that is true of the evils of English rule in India; but we must in fairness offer the meed of praise where it is deserved, and nowhere can the contrast be better observed, between security and insecurity, than in the British pargannahs of Rudour, Jugadree, and Ambala, as opposed to the best-managed states around. Rudour and Judagree are both clean, well laid-out towns, and in that quarter there is scarce a remnant of the old robber towers, though in the little white pyramids that often

cover the plain, we see too many relics of the Suttees, that *against* Sikh doctrines, the Sikh rulers permitted to their subjects, and warmly entered into themselves, as has been narrated on the deaths of Runjeet, Khuruck, Nou Nehal, and Shere Singh.

But Thunneser, on the high road of our troops, though perhaps the worst-cultivated of our possessions, offers the best and readiest subject of comparison; half the town is ours, half a widow lady's—a perfect Catherine in her morals. She owns half the holy city, and half the principality, her share being perhaps fifty or sixty villages. The English portion of the town has beautifully laid-out bazaars, a handsome Kutra (or square), the old Badshahi Serai is kept in some repair, and altogether the place is clean, and looks thriving. A gateway divides it from the lady's portion, where you enter an old, irregular, dirty quarter; the traders subject to exaction, and certainly, in *this case at least*, panting for British supremacy. But in the country the contrast is much greater, the cultivators are all bad ones, of bad stock, and in a bad neighbourhood; but on one side of the road you see the British possessions daily progressing in cultivation—on the other side, the Sirdani's, daily deteriorating.

The territory of Thunneser has, within the last fifty years, a dozen times changed hands, and has for several years been held by widows, the worst of bad managers. When the British took possession of their share, there was a feint made of opposition; the old castle was manned, and all looked warlike; but Captain Murray, taking a couple of companies, marched down from Ambala, and riding on in advance the last mile with a few attendants, the courage of the garrison failed; they opened the gates and capitulated.

The system of our Indian Government, on acquiring territory, has unhappily been, not only to let things alone, which would often have been a good rule, but to take for granted many important points, and often to register them as ascertained facts, on the *ex-parte* statements of interested witnesses.

An excellent rule was established regarding the Cis-Sutlej states, at the commencement of our connexion in A. D. 1809; but unfortunately the spirit of the treaty was never acted up to, and the British Government, contented that Runjeet Singh abided by its letter, and fought his Cis-Sutlej battles with the pen rather than with the sword, has permitted constant encroachment, and allowed Lahore supremacy over many Cis-Sutlej states, proved by Captains Ross and Murray to have, according to treaty, appertained to the protected Sikh portion.

As it would be unjust to encroach on Native States, so it is as

unfair to permit them to encroach on us. Forbearance under injury is no where less appreciated than in the East; the affront, plunder, or encroachment of to-day legalizes that of to-morrow. The first was induced by real or supposed weakness, and is repeated, or final conquest effected, according to the respective strength of parties. But for a strong Government to allow a weaker one to encroach is little better than laying a snare, permitting headway for a time with a certainty of sudden and sharp revulsion; allowing occupation one day that will be denied the next; increasing with the period of possession, the difficulties of diplomacy; ensuring bad blood, and even causing hostilities in the end, unless good sense prevails on both sides, forbearance on ours, reasonableness on that of the offenders.

The estate of the Sodees (descendants of Gooroo Govind) of Chumkour, ceded in A.D. 1763 by the assembled chiefs after their victory at Sirhind over Zyn Khan, and that of Anundpoor Makowal, partly so acquired, and partly purchased, but to neither of which Runjeet Singh had a shadow of right, were in the face of evidence yielded to his supremacy. The Cis-Sutlej Estates of the Aloowala Sirdar were declared protected; but the nominal protection has rather been an injury to him, subjecting the chief to increased exaction in his Trans-Sutlej Territory, so that the family of the great Seikh leader, Jusa Singh Qulal—almost the only old family now remaining—have frequently been nearly driven to desperation, and compelled to abandon their possessions in the Punjab; as the Sealba, the Chuloundee, and other chiefs actually did. The Whudnee estate, held by Sudda Kour, the mother-in-law of Runjeet Singh, was reported by Mr. Ross, the Resident at Delhi, to be liable to escheat to the British Government on her death. His opinion was coincided in by Government, and the occupation of the place ordered to be effected on the death of the old lady; when the rights of the old Zemindar's family, who had thrown off the Delhi yoke, and from whom Mai Sudda Kour had acquired the territory were to be considered. But in the face of the previous decision, of the prior rights of the Zemindar's family, and of the fact that either Sudda Kour had acquired the territory herself, by her own right arm, or that if obtained from Runjeet Singh, the latter had made the conquest after the date of the treaty with the British, and, therefore, contrary to its provisions, Whudnee was given up to Lahore; and to this day it is not clearly ascertained what estates are entitled to British protection, what to be under the Lahore Government.

The British Government is often accused of grasping propensities, but as regards the Seikh states, certainly without reason:

and the eagerness with which our protection, in preference to subjection to Lahore, has been claimed, is the best proof of the opinions of the chiefs themselves on the questions of their relative merits.

Every estate in the Punjab is at the mercy of the Lahore Government, and we do not know half a dozen now remaining in the families of the chiefs, who originally acquired them; whereas among the Protected States, out of the seventy or more chiefships (exclusive of the hundreds of Puttadarics and Missuldarics), not one-tenth have lapsed, and they only on failure of heirs, according to their own laws and customs, strained on several instances in favour of themselves. Widows have been allowed to inherit, which would never have been permitted under the Lahore Government, and all acquisitions by a common ancestor have been made over to the collateral heir, however distantly connected; escheats only occurring on those estates acquired by chiefs after they have branched from their parent stock. Thus the present Rajah of Jheend is now in possession of the territory of his own (the common) ancestor, Gujput Singh, but was not permitted to inherit what was acquired by the family of his predecessor, Rajah Sungut Singh, after the two families had separated and assumed independent positions. He gained two lakhs or more per annum, and failed to obtain another lakh, which has grieved him much, and he forgets that under any other government, European or Native, he would not have obtained an acre, but to this day have remained a petty Sirdar.

Barring his unreasonableness on this head, Rajah Suroop Singh is a sensible gentleman-like chief; he is a very fine-looking man, six feet high, and stoutly built, inclining to corpulency, with good features, and a fine flowing dark beard—altogether an excellent specimen of a *civilized* Sikh chieftain. He has three or four companies of pretty good sepoy and as many old guns, and can muster perhaps five hundred horsemen—one hundred well mounted, and the others of a very indifferent sort.

Rajah Surroop Singh found his territory in very bad order, overrun with robbers, and the portion around his capital (Jheend) a mere jungle. He has, in a great measure, cleared his country of highwaymen and cattle-lifters: and has actually given three-year leases to many of his villages, and thereby much improved and increased cultivation. He goes among his people, and, more than any other chief with whom we are acquainted, appears to be conversant with his own affairs. He has done something to encourage trade, and has built handsome regular bazars at his favourite residence, Sungrowr; and proposes to do the same at Jheend. His territory, like all the Sikh chiefships, is scat-

tered about, though to a much less extent than that of many others. He has, however, a single village of Nabha close to Jheend (town) which annoys him beyond belief. Exchanges of these scattered patches, and definition of the boundaries of chiefships on good maps, would be a blessing to the people of these states, whose time and blood are now freely expended on petty boundary disputes. In a single one, four years ago, between Khytul and Jheend, nearly a hundred men were killed or wounded, the authorities on either side bringing one or more guns and regular troops to aid their respective peasantry. As Rajah Surroop Singh is a good specimen of an enlightened Sikh chief, Sirdar Pahar Singh of Fureedkote is of a Jungle one; the estate lies to the south of Ferozepore, and contains sixty villages, yielding a revenue of about half a lakh of rupees; five-sixths of it are waste, and Pahar Singh is contented to levy all he can on the cultivated portion, without caring a jot about clearing the large tracts of culturable land; or he rather seems to prefer to keep the lands uncultivated for the supply of grass and wood, of which, though now sufficient to supply his wants tenfold, he seems to dread the scarcity. Such preserves (beers) are favourite portions of the lands of Sikh chiefs, though little respected by British subjects, accustomed elsewhere to the tacitly acquiesced-in right of grass-cutting; but the right of grass, and wood-cutting, is considered by the Sikhs as much a legitimate source of revenue, as transit duties, or as our forest rights of wood and water (julkur and bunkur) in the Goruckpore and Delrah Doon forests.

Fureedkote was the first of the illicit acquisitions made by Runjeet Singh, when he summarily broke up his interview with Mr. (Sir Charles) Metcalfe at Kussoor, and commenced a new sweep of Cis-Sutlej conquests. Very unwillingly did he consent to restore the estate to the grandfather of Gholab Singh, and the family have since remained in quiet possession, doing little good, and as usual quarrelling among themselves; but all professing, and we believe really feeling gratitude towards the British Government for rescuing them from Runjeet Singh.

The neighbourhood was a very lawless one, and surrounded by eight Lahore States. Fureedkote was cruelly pecked at; and encroachment made on all sides, alternated by an occasional forward move on the Fureedkote side; for, surrounded by enemies or rivals, the Fureedkotians had been hardy borderers. Captain Wade estimated that on the whole circuit of Fureedkote (about 200 miles), there had not been less than five hundred men killed and wounded annually for years. So bad was the case that on several of the boundaries, Ameens (Moonshees



employed as bailiffs) were established for the purpose of keeping the peace. Occasionally they would be beaten or frightened off, but scarcely in a single case were they able to settle the boundary, and perhaps preferred to sit idle, eating at the expense of the rival chiefs, and while fleecing both, contributing nothing to the security of either.

Mr. Clerk, therefore, shortly after he obtained authority over the Lahore Cis-Sutlej, as well as the Protected States, ordered a settlement of the whole boundary of Fureedkote, which was effected in little more than a month. Substantial pillars were erected, and copies of a map, showing every pillar, giving to the Fureedkote chief, and another to the Lahore vakeel; and we have never since heard of a man killed or wounded on the Fureedkote border.

The Naba Rajah, Debendree Singh, is a lad of about twenty years of age. His revenues amount to some four lakhs of rupees, and his estates contain three hundred villages. Rajah Juswunt Singh, the father of the present chief, was considered a very able man. He was one of the first that joined Lord Lake's standard, and, with Rajah Bhag Singh of Jheend, was, we believe, present at the last siege of Bhurtpore.

Rajah Goverdhun Singh of Manimajra, in the Sewalik range of hills, has a nominal revenue of sixty thousand rupees, and fifty-nine villages; but almost the whole are mortgaged, and the chief, who is a poor creature, lives chiefly at Pattiala, as a pensioner on Rajah Kurn Singh's bounty.

Rajah Ajeet Singh of Ladwa is, like the Jheend Rajah, a connection of the Lahore family. The Ladwa estate comprises a hundred and seventy-eight villages, and yields two and a half lakhs of rupees. It is one of the worst managed of all the Protected States; and Ajeet Singh, who was made a Rajah, to please Runjeet Singh, just before the latter's death, is a dissipated ill-disposed person, a tyrant in his own family, and as a chief perfectly reckless. He has, we believe, estates in the Punjab, and makes them the excuse for his neglect of the Cis-Sutlej possessions which are overrun with jungle and occupied by robbers.

We once asked a native what sort of a chief Sirdar Bhoop Singh of Roopur was. "He is a Shaitan, sir," said our informant, and we believe that the speech was not far from the mark, and that he behaves as badly as he dares to do. The standard of morality is not very high among either the protected Sikh ladies or gentlemen. Of the three Sirdars (Lieutenant Barr's Rajahs) of Shahabad, one was some years ago convicted of forging a will, and another of forging a document to disprove the first forgery. The son of the chief of Siknam was transported

for life beyond seas for murder, as was the chief of another small state, called Bhuddul, for the murder of his own mother. These are the bad specimens; but, take them for all in all, the protected Sikh chiefs are perhaps as respectable as any class of chiefs in India—certainly as those of Rajpootana or Bundelcund.

Rajah Kurum Singh of Pattiala is one of the ablest, and in his way best of the chiefs, as he is by far the wealthiest and most powerful. His family and those of Naba, Jheend, and Khytul, are from a common ancestor—a Jaut cultivator, by name Phool, hence the name of the Phoolkean misal. Rajah Sahib Singh, the father of the present chief, was long insane: his dissensions with his Rance mainly induced Runjeet Singh's inroads, and but for British interference would have reduced Pattiala to the condition of the Lahore states. In the year 1812, Rance Askour, an able ambitious woman, was appointed Regent, during the insanity of her husband and minority of her son, and soon afterwards, on the death of the former, strengthened her position and made arrangements for the continuance of her authority *ad libitum*; and it was not without difficulty that Colonel Ochterloney effected an arrangement between the mother and the son, on the arrival of the latter at man's estate.

The young Rajah behaved very well on the occasion, and dreading the disgrace of his mother taking refuge, as she threatened, beyond the Pattiala boundary, he not only confirmed her in the many villages she had usurped during the Regency, but granted her further concessions.

The Pattiala territory extends over two and a half degrees of longitude and about twenty-five miles of latitude. The town of Pattiala is set down by Hamilton as in lat. 30° 15' N. and long. 76° 22' E., and is stated to be surrounded by a mud wall, with a square citadel in which the Rajah resides.

The territory stretches nearly across the protected Sikh country from near Abohur in the desert to Bihar, at the foot of the Simla hills. It contains 2,450 villages\* good and bad, some richly cultivated, others chiefly jungle, and altogether yielding twenty-two lakhs of rupees, being more than a third of the total revenues of all the Protected States. The Rajah therefore assumes the title of Maharajah, and desires to be considered as chief of the Cis-Sutlej states. His vakeel gave great offence, some years ago, when, at a durbar held by the Governor-General for the reception of all the chiefs, the Maharajah was announ-

\* Cultivated villages may require explanation to English readers, though not to Irish; the village divisions, so familiar to all who have studied Indian statistics, are very similar to the town-lands (usually for shortness called towns) in Ireland, where we often hear, "Our town is all bog," "Half of our town is under potatoes," "Our town is fit for nothing but grass."

ced as "King of the Cis-Sutlej Seikhs." The Jheend and Nabha Rajahs are (as was the Bhac of Khytul) most jealous of him, as they approached nearest to him in wealth and dignity.

The Pattiala state is, on the whole, not ill governed, though unequally so—depending a good deal upon the character of the people of the different districts. The well-disposed Jaut cultivators, with those of the gardener and other industrious classes, are well treated, and not very unduly squeezed; but little care is taken to improve the habits of the predatory classes; the Goojurs, the Rangurs, and others.

The Pattiala Rajah has in every way gained by the British connection. He has been protected from foreign enemies without paying a rupee, and as a reward for the aid of his troops during the Nepal war, he was endowed with several of the conquered purgunnahs in the Western Hills, as also with the valley of Pinjore, all at a mere nominal price.

Mixed up among these Sikh Protected States are three or four Mahomedan and Rajpoot ones. Of the latter, Mean Debee Singh, Chief of Ramgurh, is a specimen. The family was originally from Belaspoor on the Sutlej; as servants of the Nahn Rajah, they made themselves independent in the troubled times, at the beginning of the present century; and were themselves saved from being swallowed up by one or other of the contending Sikh chiefs, by the timely interference of the British. The estate contains thirty villages, but is already divided into two—nay, three portions; and bids fair to be soon split up into patches; and unless present and very stringent measures are taken, the arming and threatening of uncle against nephew, brother against brother, and cousin against cousin, will continue to distract the country. Koonjpoora and Mulair Ketla are two substantial Patan states; the first of 53, the second of 96 villages, and yielding respectively half a lakh and a lakh of rupees revenue. The present chiefs are descended from the local petty governors of the Mogul times, who have managed by courage and diplomacy to weather the storms on the breaking up of the empire, and, by opposing mere Sikh marauders and coalescing with more powerful leaders, they have saved for themselves pretty estates out of the wreck of what was under their management.

Koonjpoora is on the Jumna within six miles of Kurnaul, and its ghat over the Jumna was the scene of many a contention in the wars at the breaking up of the Delhi empire. The present chief is an ignorant, litigious person, quite in the hands of his servants, and at deadly feud not only with his Sikh copartners, but with his own relations. The Mulair Hotla Patans are not much more rational in the management of their domestic affairs.

As a specimen of their litigiousness and of the trouble they give the local authorities, we may observe that Mr. Andrew D'Cruz,\* whose compilations we have freely used in preparing these sketches, gives six pages to Koonjpoora and its coparcenery dependency Indree, while he allots scarcely a page to Puttiala and only half a one to Nabha; the information given regarding Koonjpoora being chiefly regarding domestic squabbles and decisions. These two Patan chiefs have each a small, well-mounted body of horsemen, the best paid, and consequently in all points the most efficient troops in the Protected States. We mentioned, in our last number, that the Mulair Kotla Horsemen had more than once proved useful in acting against bands of Akalis, and only last year, when Kurnaul was denuded of troops to act against Khytul, the Koonjpoora chief sent his horsemen to patrol the Kurnaul cantonment.

From the bands of military retainers in these states, two thousand Horse, as well mounted as our Irregular Cavalry, and double that number mounted on smaller but even harder cattle, might be selected, and at least an equal number of Infantry; or 12,000 men in all—hardy, undisciplined troops, available for Government purposes, without by their absence affecting the safety of their own districts. But, in the event of operations on the frontier, it is even more by carriage, supplies, and cash, than by troops, that the chiefs, especially the Rajah of Puttiala, could assist the British Government; and, as all who have ever moved a finger for us have been richly rewarded, and all enjoy security and honour under our rule, it is manifestly their interest, as we believe it generally to be their desire, to keep on good terms with our authorities. They will undoubtedly give all the assistance we ask for, as long as we are in a condition to dispense with it. In short, as long as we are strong, and put forth our strength, we shall not want auxiliaries.

\* Mr. D'Cruz contributed the items on the protected states to Rushton's *Gazetteer* for 1841, and we observe that the contributions have been republished in an enlarged form under the title of "Political Relations of the N. W. P." The book only fell into our hands after this article was nearly written, or we should have more largely noticed the work, which, though defective on some points, is, on the whole, very creditable to the compiler. If, however, a second edition is required, we recommend a careful revision, when not only may some portions be compressed, but others with advantage be more elaborated. We observe, under the head of Bahawalpoor, that "this principality, situated on the left bank of the Sutlej, extends from the Loodianah territory to the River Indus." Now, what does the Loodianah territory mean? For Bahawalpoor really begins one hundred and fifty miles below Loodianah, and immediately west of the Mundote estate. The Nawaab is stated to be "styled the chief of Daoodpootra (a place some miles below Bahawalpoore." We write under correction, but we never heard of the *place* Daoodpootra, though we have heard of the chief and his clan being Daoodpootras, or sons of Daood (David).

We have already stated that the possessions of the Rajah of Puttiala were largely benefited by the sale to him of hill Purgunnahs at low rates. The Khytul, Naba, and Jheend chiefs also received life-grants of Purgunnahs in the Delhi territory, for aid given to Lord Lake.

Mr. D'Cruze, in a tabular statement signed "G. Clerk," estimates the revenues of the British possessions at three lakhs; the Lahore Cis-Sutlej states at seventeen lakhs; and the Protected States at fifty-nine lakhs. In these last Khytul is included as six lakhs; but though six lakhs were probably collected by the late Bhae, it should now be rated at four and a half lakhs; three as an escheat, the rest to the collateral heirs and to Lahore.

The British possessions are the small detached Purgunnahs of Belaspoor, Jagadrec, Khadir Booreah, Majra, Morndah, Rudhour, Ambala, Thannesur, Loodianah, and Ferozepoor, altogether yielding about three lakhs. The cultivation of the earlier acquisitions, Ambala, Belaspoor, and Rudhour, must have augmented four-fold, and except by increased culture of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and indigo, is not much further improveable, as at this moment the people are hardly pressed for grazing land for their few cows and oxen; but the other Purgunnahs, Thannesur, and Ferozepoor especially, are capable of producing five-fold their present out-turn; which, however, can only be effected by a first outlay on the part of Government in sinking wells, bunding up the rain water, and cutting small canals from the Sutlej, Chittung, and Suraswati rivers. The people are unable, and, we may allow, unwilling, to do what is needful; but there cannot be a doubt that, as on the Delhi, Dooab, and Rohileund canals, a large interest on the original outlay would be secured, in addition to the more material point of ameliorating the condition of the people, and converting them from their present mixed occupation of grazing their own cattle, and stealing their neighbours', to profitable habits of industry.

What has been said of Ferozepoor and Thannesur, still more strongly applies to Khytul, especially to its southern Purgunnahs bordering on Thannesur, Kurnaul, and Jheend. This portion of country, occupying not less than five hundred square miles of high, dry land, with the water at not less than a hundred cubits from the surface; without a single stream, and only bordered by the Chittung river; is liable to fearful droughts, and consequent famines. The inhabitants are a very fine race; about a third of them, Hindu Jauts, excellent cultivators, but in hard times and dry seasons *as excellent* marauders. A single Jaut village of Khytul has been known to drive off, in open day, a thousand head of cattle from Nabha, Jheend, Puttiala, or Kurnaul;

and within the week the herd are scattered among the villages of Meerut or Saharunpore a hundred miles off. The other two-thirds of the population are Rangurs (Mussulman Rajpoots), Goojurs, and others, some Hindoo, some Mahomedan, but all cultivating very little, grazing and cattle-lifting a great deal. We have seen a Rangur village, with fifty or sixty pucka (bricked) wells, all but one in ruins, and thousands of acres of fine land allowed to run to waste. Indeed, except in a few Jaut villages, the cultivation in the midst of the forests of small stunted Jhund (a mimosa) and Bun-trees, as seen from the top of any of the robber towers, seems as little islands in the midst of the ocean. The people in fact live by stealing, and by the sale of ghee and milk, the produce of their flocks, and are, or rather were, as ready for a raid as ever were the MacGregors and Campbells to harry their lowland neighbours. We happened, shortly after the lapse of Khytul, to be riding along the Jheend and Khytul border with Rajah Suroop Singh, when seeing a party of villagers singing merrily, while with their cattle, treading out the saturated fields for rice cultivation,\* he laughing said, "Ah, Sahib, they dared not have been thus employed a year ago."—"Why not?" we asked; and were answered, "Because their neighbours would have been down upon them, and driven off their cattle."

In Khytul great quantities of rain-water are lost. By a skilful application of bunds and small canal-cuts, all might be drawn off from waste-lands and applied to cultivation. A small canal from the Suraswati might be made to intersect the worst lands; one already comes down to Khytul town, but another is required from a higher level. One from the Delhi canal, and the old bed of the Chittung cleared out—all of which might be done for a couple of lakhs of rupees—would be the saving of those wild lands and their wilder occupants. Even if the water could only be supplied for six months (a period when much water is wasted in the canals and mountain-streams for want of proper bunds and regulating sluices) it would ensure one crop, flood the lands for the winter sowings, and would generally raise the water-level so as to decrease the expense of well-digging. This is not a place to enter into minute details, but we may briefly say, that there are remains of fine villages, nay towns, now utterly desolate; there are traces of old canal-cuts; there are hundreds of ruined wells, many old tanks; and there is, in short, in every quarter,

\* Half the rice cultivation in these parts is thus effected; not a plough is used; but herds of buffaloes, oxen, and even (by low castes) of asses and pigs, are driven through and through low swampy levels, where the water lies until the soil is well turned up, and the water is well thickened, when the rice seed is literally thrown on the waters, and allowed to take its chance.

proof of a former flourishing condition of the people, showing that it wants but fostering for a time to bring the wilderness at least on an equality with adjoining districts.

There is not a tope of trees in all these Purgunnahs, though Thannesur and Kurnaul abound in mangoes; wherever wells or canals are dug there should be plantations of babul (*minosa*), sissoo, burkeen, mulberry, and such like quick-growing trees, as well as mangoes. The droughts of these districts are mainly attributable to the absence of trees; for the stunted jhund and bun, seldom rising above eight feet, can only be reckoned as shrubs. We may be considered as wild speculatists, but what is there impracticable in our schemes? If any sensible man purchases an estate, his first inquiry would be for the map; and if the answer be, "There is none, sir:" "We must have it surveyed," would be the rejoinder; and after the survey, if the means are forthcoming, would we not make roads, drain, irrigate, and civilize? Would we not, in short, endeavour to ascertain what we had, and what its condition? And would we not be willing to spend, for the first few years, half or more of the produce, to ensure double proceeds for the future, and leave a rich instead of a barren heritage to our children? Thus should it be with Government. A road to-day costs no more than it will to-morrow, or after a lapse of ten years; but the want of that road between to-day and this day year, may impede the traffic of the country—may, during an outbreak, prevent the passage of troops or materiel, and entail disaster on the Government. The same may be said of all improvements: if the great Ganges canal, or our petty Sikh cuts, are proved, on all ascertainable data, to be likely to remunerate ourselves as well as to benefit our subjects, surely it is better to commence, and finish them as quickly as possible, even if a four per cent. loan is the consequence. No result is obtained until the work is finished; and, between ten years or one year employed, the difference of expense is only that of four per cent. interest paid on the money at once drawn from the treasury; whereas, there is to the credit side of the account the difference of pay of the general superintendence for one instead of ten years; and the difference of ten or fifteen per cent. profits on the irrigation so much sooner obtained, over the four per cent. interest to be paid. But enough,—we have said our say, and trust it may hasten some little improvement in some one quarter; and nowhere is it so much wanted, or can it be so easily affected, as in the Protected States.

A word or two on the justice-shops among the Sikhs. As elsewhere shown, all crime is punishable, or rather commutable by fine; the robber pays his dund (mulet) and goes to rob again,

and only when making himself very notorious, or unduly plundering his master's subjects, instead of those of his neighbours, he may have his right hand cut off, or be chained in an outer room, or verandah of the thannah, fort, or castle of his ruler, until his friends ransom him. Throughout the Sikh states, the farmers of the revenue are the judges and magistrates, or the appointers of them; and when the revenues are paid direct to Government, Tulseeldars and Thannadars are so, as was often the case in Khytul, and is now in Puttiala. At Lahore, Peshawur, and some other Punjab cities, as at Puttiala, Khytul, &c., were judges called *adaulatees* (justice-givers), more frequently Mahomedans and Hindoos than Sikhs, often Kazees and Kayuts. At this time Lallah Gomance Lall, a respectable Kayut of the British provinces, and in 1837 the Lahore Vakeel at Ferozepoor, and afterwards constantly deputed on settlement of border disputes, is now chief Judge of Lahore; but we observe that he is told to make over Mahomedan disputes to the Kazees, and Lena Singh Majetia's brother, the other day, took the judge to task for interfering in a case of Majetia ryots. It will therefore be readily understood that the Lalla, who is a timid man, has a hard time of it, and if he is not to judge between Sikh subjects or Mahomedans, he will have clear enough files. The fact is, that justice is a farce in all native states; the gainer pays his Shookeranah, and the loser his Jooremanah; and while the latter (the fine) is only a mulet upon unlawful gains, the former (the grateful present), added to delays and expenses, may entail ruin; making the injured always prefer private arbitrations, and yielding up half their flocks to preserve the other half. We watch Gomance Lall's career with interest, and wonder at his having so long escaped being cut down by his clients, or put in irons by his Government. In Khytul it was, and in Puttiala it is still, the fashion for the judges to pass as many years in imprisonment as on the bench; probably as a means of eliciting for the Sircar (Government) a portion of the bribes supposed to have been given.

A year has elapsed since the murder of Shere Singh, and the Dusehra again approaches,—that season which, in every native court, is now the period of domestic strife, as of old it was the time of mustering their strength for foreign aggression. During the last quarter, little of consequence has occurred at Lahore; a boundary dispute between Moulton and some of the villages under Shaik Imamooddeen, has enabled Sawun Mull, the able dewan of Moulton, to show his spirit, and evince his disposition, towards the present motley administration. It seems that his people gave battle to the troops, sent against his villagers by order



of Rajah Heera Singh, and repelled them, and that the Rajah has since been obliged to coax rather than threaten him.

There cannot be a doubt that Sawun Mull has, like Rajah Golab Singh, been long looking for a day such as the present, when he might throw off the Sikh yoke. His last visit to Lahore was paid about four years ago, when he went to the capital only on repeated orders, and after he had received information that further recusancy would draw on him the whole strength of the Lahore army. He was not then prepared for resistance, and the Khalsa was still entire; he, therefore, after making some previous arrangements for his safety, by purchasing friends at durbar, came to court, without any state or show, where he freely, though quietly, threw about his rupees. Within a few days of his arrival, came the astounding news of the inroad of some Beloch marauders from the Scinde border, which before his departure he had arranged should happen, but which was now believed to have occurred owing to his temporary absence. He was therefore hustled back, post-haste, to his government, and there has since remained unmolested.

In some such fashion, we have heard that Sirdar Hurree Singh Nulua (killed at Jumrood), used to pocket the proceeds of his frontier government, by reporting constant raids by, or against the Yuzufzes—the result being that he left eighty lakhs of rupees, which Runjeet Singh seized, thus getting *his own*, though by a rather round-about process.

We are, however, inclined to believe that Sawun Mull's sponge will retain all it has absorbed. His character for good faith is high, and, contrasted with the chiefs around him, he may be considered a respectable man. His prudence and ability are great, and as in his neighbourhood, so long as he has the cash to pay, he will never want able-bodied recruits, he may be said now to be in a condition to declare his independence; and although we should hardly have hit upon Rajah Golab Singh as his ally, the Jumnoes having always been his enemies, yet in a strife for royalty by both chiefs, neither one nor the other would regard family ties or enmities, or look to anything more than the furtherance of their personal views.

We have long been of opinion, that while Rajah Golab Singh is permitted to pursue his way unmolested in the hills, and be the virtual ruler of the plains north of Moultan, that lie between the Jhelum and Indus, he would affect all loyalty and devotion to the Khalsa; but that as soon as his independence was threatened, or he found it no longer his interest to farm the salt mines, or to appoint farmers of the revenue of the upper Sind Sager Doab, that he would defy the Lahore Government.

The outward pressure removed, and the cry of Feringhee invasion having for a time subsided, more scope has been given to home dissension among the Punjab authorities, and matters are therefore drawing to a conclusion, even more rapidly than might have been anticipated.

The Sikh army is said to be crossing the Ravee with intent to invade Jumboo, and while Sawun Mull and other chiefs are reported as either neutral, or openly advocating Golab Singh's cause, many of the Lahore regiments are said to be in his favour. It is out of the question that they can really be so; but Golab Singh is just the man to make them be suspected, and therefore useless to his nephew, if not directly supporting himself. We stated in our last number, that his arrangements had long since been in train for effecting his views on Cashmere; and when once the sword is drawn, and no more is to be gained by dissembling, we shall not be surprised at his declaring himself monarch of the northern hills, including Cashmere.

It is, however, idle to speculate. Time, and that a very short time, will give the result of the present commotions. We have shown what blood has been spilt during the last four years, when common sense would have dictated unity. Many of the Sikhs, however, feel that, like other states, they are doomed to fall, and as Sir Walter Raleigh wrote of the Greeks when cognizant of Philip's designs, "the Greeks grew even then more violent in devouring each other." So has it ever been with weak and barbarous states. They are well aware that dissension is ruin, but they must and will fight. Fascinated, as it were, by the serpent's gaze, they run into the destruction they would avoid. And so it will be with the Sikhs. They may unite—many at least would do so in the event of actual invasion, and as our Akali friend said, "the Kalsa will do battle;" but, in the interval they will freely cut each other's throats whatever are the consequences. If it were politically honest to rob, that murder might be prevented, we would advocate interference, but as until we are attacked or our own positive safety demands the step, it would be unjust to cross the Sutlej—as too we have ample experience of the evils of interference, and have on the contrary side only *ifs* to offer as advantages—our voice is urgently for peace. We can see the advantages to ourselves of a strong government under Sawun Mull, in Moultan; and another under Golab Singh, in the hills, and a British Protectorate over a dozen or twenty Sikh chiefs in the Punjab east of the Jhelum, but if our Government has recognized Duleep Singh, it can never be a party to the dismemberment of his kingdom, even if called in by the Sikh chiefs; and we must therefore let

things right or wrong themselves; and keeping ourselves in a position to resent and punish any insult or injury, rest content with improving our own ample possessions, instead of coveting those of our neighbours.

It may be safely asserted that no chronicler ever experiences greater difficulty in keeping pace with his subject, than the writer of Punjabee annals. The ground is constantly shifting under him. Ere the ink is dry with which he has recorded the names of living men, they are blotted out from the scroll of life—actor after actor disappears—and the speculations of the future are converted into retrospects of the past. During the passage of this sheet through the press, the death of Sawun Mull, of Moultan, has been announced. He died on the 20th of September, from the effects of a wound which, a few days before, whilst sitting on the judgment-seat, he received from a notorious offender arraigned before him. The assassin, it appears, drew forth a pistol and shot the Dewan in the arm. The wound was not supposed to be mortal; but the work of death was done, and in furtherance of the great scheme which Providence seems to be accomplishing for the entire revolution of the Punjab, by the removal of all the leading spirits who have exercised or seemed likely to exercise an influence over the destinies of their country, in rapid succession, from the scene of strife, the name of Sawun Mull was added to the long list of murdered men. This able and energetic chief has been succeeded in the government of Moultan, by his son, Lalla Moolraj, who is said to inherit much of his father's ability; and it is hoped that he will tread in the footsteps of one who has shown, in the government of the Moultahee province, a combination of energy and moderation rarely to be found in a semi-barbarous chief.

ART. VI.—1. *General Register of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants on the Bengal establishment, from 1790 to 1842, comprising the dates of their respective appointments, &c. &c., compiled from authentic sources, under the direction of the Honourable H. T. Prinsep, by Ramchunder Doss.—Calcutta, printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1844.*

2. *Papers relating to Affghanistan. London, 1838.*

3. *The Military Operations at Cabul, which ended in the retreat and destruction of the British Army, January 1842, &c. &c.—By Lieut. Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery. London, 1843.*

It was long a subject of complaint with the British residents in India, that an empire which embraced the interests of a hundred millions of people, and yielded a revenue of twenty millions sterling a year, excited so little interest in the country to which it belonged. It was remarked, with regret, that the most petty parish squabble in the neighbourhood of London, obtained greater attention than the most momentous political occurrence in India. But this feeling of indifference began to wear away when it was announced that the security of this distant empire was menaced by the intrigues which a great European power had gradually pushed on to its very threshold. This new-born interest, which was coincident in point of time with the establishment of a regular monthly communication by steam with England, was deepened by the intelligence, which successively reached our native land, of the bold measures which the local Government had adopted to meet this new danger; of the despatch of a grand army beyond the Indus to regions of which the very name was unknown; of the installation of Shah Soojah, and of the flight and eventual surrender of Dost Mahomed. But the interest was increased to a degree of the most painful intensity, when the mail conveyed the melancholy tidings that our Envoy had been murdered and a British army of five thousand men annihilated by the insupportable rigours of winter, and the weapons of hostile Affghans. Every account of this great national calamity was, of course, welcomed with eagerness; and as disaster is commonly supposed to originate in misconduct, those narratives which reflected most severely on the delinquencies of the chief actors in these scenes, obtained a pre-eminent share of public attention. Works, which a quarter of a century hence, when truth has triumphed over exaggeration, will be referred to only as evidence of the credulity of the community when its passions have been excited, were welcomed with more than usual avidity.

The officers who had been selected by Government for politi-

cal employment in that country, on account of their ability and experience, were held up by public writers—and by none more virulently than by Mr. Masson—to public detestation, as the basest of mankind. By far the greater number of the public servants he calumniated had descended to a premature and bloody grave, before these imputations on their character appeared. The work was therefore published with apparent impunity. In one instance, however, a successful attempt has been made to rescue one of Mr. Masson's victims from the infamy to which his memory had been consigned. Dr. Buist has triumphantly refuted the charges brought against Sir Alexander Burnes by this writer, and exposed the worthlessness of his testimony. In defending the character of one, Dr. Buist has, in effect, thrown a shield over the character of all the political officers employed across the Indus, so far as they could be affected by the slanders of a man whom he has shown to be so utterly unworthy of credit. In this category will, of course, be included the reputation of Sir William Macnaghten, which Mr. Masson has assailed with peculiar virulence. Indeed, the vindictive feelings which are so manifest in his notices of this eminent public servant, more especially when in alluding "to the subsequent career, and miserable end of this functionary," he exclaims, "*Grand dien, tes jugemens sont pleins d'équité*," are of themselves almost a sufficient antidote to his slanders; for truth is utterly incompatible with such feelings. But Sir William's whole career in the public service, and more especially his conduct in Afghanistan, is the most appropriate and decisive refutation of the calumnies which have been heaped on him. We are disposed, therefore, to think that a more acceptable service could scarcely be rendered to the public, and to those who feel an interest in his reputation, than to place in their proper light the proceedings of one who, partly from the force of circumstances, and partly from the strength of his own character, has obtained so prominent a place in the public eye. In the following brief narrative of his public career, we have availed ourselves freely of the fragments of his own correspondence which escaped the wreck at Cabool, and which have been kindly placed at our disposal.

William Hay Macnaghten, the second son of Sir Francis Macnaghten, for many years one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, was born in the month of August, 1793. He was sent at an early age to the Charter House, where he was contemporary with some who have since risen to great eminence in England. He came to India, at the age of sixteen, in September 1809, as a cavalry cadet on the Madras establishment. Shortly after his arrival, he was appointed to do duty with the

body guard of the Governor of Madras, in whose family he continued to reside for some months. From the earliest period of his Indian career, his mind was eagerly bent on the pursuit of Oriental literature; and he devoted the leisure of his easy appointment to the study of Hindoostanee and Persian. In May 1811, he obtained the prize of 500 pagodas, which was held out to the junior officers of the army as an encouragement to the study of Hindoostanee. There was no reward appointed at that time for the successful study of Persian; but with the view of establishing his qualifications for employment in the political department, to which his aspirations were directed, he passed a satisfactory examination in that language. Soon after, he was appointed to a cornetcy in the 4th Cavalry, then stationed at Hyderabad, and in June 1811 he proceeded to join his corps. He remained with it for nearly a year, during which time he was invited to join the Resident, Mr. Henry Russell, in his visits to the Nizam and his ministers, and thus obtained an early opportunity of becoming acquainted with the policy and feelings of native courts. Being desirous of acquiring some knowledge of mathematics, he was permitted, about the middle of 1812, to join the Institution founded by Lord William Bentinck for imparting instruction in that department of science, and made considerable progress in it under the tuition of Captain Troyer. Six months after he had entered on this study, he proceeded on survey duty, and returned to Madras on its completion, and continued his studies in the Institution for six months longer. During this period, Government offered a prize of 500 pagodas for eminent proficiency in Persian, and he passed a second examination in it, and secured the reward. About the middle of 1813, he joined the escort of the Honourable Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore. He had already made some progress in a knowledge of the Tamul and Telooogo languages, and he now embraced the opportunity of his residence in Mysore to add to them an acquaintance with the Canarees and Mahratta tongues. Shortly after his arrival at the Residency, he was employed by Mr. Cole, in the capacity of a Political Assistant, though not formally recognised as such by Government; but he was now to quit the Madras Presidency, and enter upon another sphere of employment.

About the middle of 1814, he received an appointment to the Bengal Civil Service. He arrived in Calcutta with the most flattering testimonials from the Governor of Madras and from Mr. Cole. The Chief Secretary at that Presidency was instructed to "notify the appointment to the Governor of Bengal, and at the same time to enclose the honourable testimonies of the pro-

iciency of Mr. Macnaghten in the Hindoostanee and Persian languages, and also to forward letters of a similar tendency from the Resident at Mysore, under whom Mr. Macnaghten had been employed." Mr. Cole's letter, coming as it did from one who was so well qualified to judge of merit, and who had enjoyed the best opportunities of estimating Mr. Macnaghten's attainments, must have been peculiarly gratifying to him. It ran thus: "Mr. Macnaghten having received information of his appointment to the Bengal Civil Service, and being consequently about to leave the situation in my family, to which he lately stood appointed, I consider it to be an act of justice to this gentleman to submit to Government a testimony of his merit and diligent conduct since I have had the assistance of his service at this Residency. Mr. Macnaghten has continued to employ himself in the acquirement of Oriental literature, and has made a considerable and practical progress in the Mahratta and Canarees languages, and I am sure will always prove himself deserving of the utmost confidence and support. Were it not, therefore, for the benefit which he will experience by this change, I should most sensibly regret to be deprived of his valuable services."

He arrived in Calcutta in October 1814, and entered upon the study of Oriental literature with a degree of ardour which has seldom, if ever, been surpassed. It is scarcely necessary to say that with the knowledge he brought with him, and his habits of intense application, he soon became one of the most distinguished students in the College of Fort William. The government of the country was then in the hands of Lord Hastings, who took a particular interest in the credit and usefulness of that Institution, and made it his business to foster the rising talent which it developed. It would be tedious to detail the various public encomiums which Mr. Macnaghten received for the successful study of the Oriental languages; and it may be sufficient to observe that he received, at different times, six degrees of honour, and ten medals of merit, in addition to rewards and prizes of books for his proficiency. At the sixteenth anniversary of the College, Lord Hastings, in noticing Mr. Macnaghten's exertions, stated, that "there was not a language taught in the College in which he had not earned the highest distinctions which the Government or the College could bestow." From a careful examination of the annals of the College, it may be safely asserted, that no student ever earned greater distinction by the depth and variety of his attainments, and that if it were required to point to any one name as the brightest ornament of that Institution, there are few who would hesitate to fix upon that of Macnaghten.

On quitting the college in May 1816, he was placed as an assistant to the Register in the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*, the highest Court of Appeal in the Presidency; an appointment eminently calculated to improve and mature his knowledge of the languages and laws of the country, and in which some of the most distinguished servants of Government, *Butterworth Bayley*, *Thoby Prinsep*, *Robert Bird*, *Holt Mackenzie*, *James Sutherland*, and *James Thomason*, also began their public career. The subsequent abolition of this office cannot be reckoned among the improvements of our administration. In November, 1818, he was deputed to officiate as joint magistrate of *Malda*, and continued there a twelvemonth. In February, 1820, he was appointed to act in the higher capacity of judge and magistrate of *Shahabad*, and during the two years of his incumbency afforded the greatest satisfaction, both to the inhabitants and his superiors, as the following testimonial will show:—"The reported excellent state of *Shahabad* is consistent with what his lordship in council always anticipated from the services of *Mr. Macnaghten*, and has afforded Government much satisfaction." He now returned to *Calcutta* as Deputy-Register of the *Sudder Court*, to which he was appointed in January, 1822, and, in the course of the year, requested that a committee might be appointed to examine him in *Hindoo* and *Mahomedan* law. The reports of its members, *Captain Lockett* and *Mr. Lumsden* in the latter, and *Dr. Carey*, *Dr. H. H. Wilson*, and *Captain Price*, in the former, speak in the warmest terms of the extraordinary proficiency he had evinced during a very searching examination. We need not load this article with a transcript of these testimonials; it will be sufficient to quote the flattering mention made of *Mr. Macnaghten* by the *Marquis of Hastings*, in the last address which that statesman delivered to the *College of Fort-William*:—"For these distinctions a successful candidate has recently presented himself, and enrolled a name already honourably familiar in the annals, and associated with the best eras and efforts of the Institution. *Mr. William Macnaghten* has shown, in his bright example, that even amidst the engrossing duties of public station, industry can command the leisure, and genius confer the power, to explore the highest regions of *Oriental literature*, and to unravel the intricacies of *Oriental law*. The committee of examination appointed to report on that gentleman's proficiency in the study of the *Mahomedan* and *Hindoo* law, have expressed a very high opinion of his attainments, and have pronounced him eminently qualified to consult, in the original, any work on the subject. It is true, indeed, that his labours have been prosecuted beyond the walls of this Institution; but within them was the foundation laid



on which Mr. Macnaghten has reared so noble a superstructure. The parent source, therefore, of his knowledge, and of his success, may justly assert its pride in his matured eminence." Within a fortnight after this commendation, on the 5th of September, 1822, he was gazetted as Register of the Sudder Dewanny, within six years after he had quitted the college.

This important appointment he continued to hold for eight years and a half. The same extraordinary diligence which had raised him to public distinction, was now exhibited in discharging the duties of the office with which he was rewarded. In addition to the daily labours of the Court, he was enabled to carry through the press three volumes of the reports of decided cases. The reports, which had been allowed to run into arrears, he was enabled to bring up almost to the date of publication. Of the cases published, more than two-thirds were reported by himself. They are remarkable for their fulness and accuracy, and are considered a standard authority on all legal questions to which they refer. They enjoy the same reputation in our local courts, which the most esteemed and authentic reports do in the courts at home. While occupying this station, he employed his knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic for the benefit of the public, and compiled two works—the one “*Considerations on Hindoo Law*,” the other on Mahomedan law—which have proved eminently useful in abridging and guiding the labours of the Judges. These monuments of his erudition and industry will long continue to render his memory grateful to all who are employed at the bar or on the bench in this country.

At the close of 1830, Lord William Bentinck determined to make a tour through the upper and western provinces, for the facility of examining many questions of great interest and importance relative to the revenue, the police, and the judicial system, and more particularly to expedite the survey and settlement of the north-west provinces. He was anxious to take the Council and the Secretariat with him, with the view of establishing a Government on the spot, and discussing and deciding the important questions which passed on the attention of the public authorities. But it was discovered that the letter, as well as the spirit of the law, was opposed to such a proceeding, and that the powers of the Governor-General in Council could only be exercised in Calcutta. The new charter, which was soon afterwards passed, provided for such a contingency, and enabled the Governor-General to proceed on deputation to any part of the Presidency with the full powers of the Council-board, except in matters of legislation. Lord William Bentinck was constrained, therefore, to proceed on his tour without any other assistance

than that of an intelligent secretary; and it reflects no small credit on Mr. Maenaghten that he should have been selected by so excellent a judge of character for his confidential adviser, in the circle of difficult and important duties on which he was about to enter. Mr. Maenaghten's political career, through which he reached the highest distinction open to the ambition of the civil service in about eleven years, may be said to have commenced in January, 1831. He accompanied the Governor-General in his progress through the provinces, and assisted at the investigations and deliberations which then took place. He afterwards went with his lordship, as the official secretary, to the meeting with Runjeet Singh at Roopur, where he obtained his first insight into the mysteries of Lahore policy. This training in the school of one of the greatest statesmen ever employed in the Indian administration, was eminently beneficial to Mr. Maenaghten in his subsequent career, and it placed him at once in the foremost rank of political functionaries. On the return of Lord William Bentinck to the Presidency at the beginning of 1833, Mr. Maenaghten was entrusted with the Secret and Political Departments, and continued to occupy this post in the Secretariat, both of the Government of India and of Bengal, for more than four years.

Lord Auckland succeeded to the Government of India in March 1836, and in October 1837 proceeded on a tour to the North-West Provinces. He resolved to take with him the individual in whom his predecessor had reposed confidence on a similar occasion; and it would have been difficult to point out any individual, with the exception of Mr. Prinsep, better qualified, from his knowledge of the internal machinery of the government, and its political relations with subordinate or independent states, to give his lordship sound and salutary advice. In October 1837, he left Calcutta, which he was never destined to revisit, but in which he was to find a melancholy but honourable grave. He proceeded to Simlah in the suite of the Governor-General. In the following year, Lord Auckland deemed it necessary to despatch the expedition across the Indus, to avert the dangers which appeared to menace the empire from the machinations of Russia, and the hostile movements of Persia; and he entrusted the political management of it to Mr. Maenaghten, in the capacity of envoy and minister to his Majesty Shah Soojah. It was in connection with this enterprise, which opened with the most brilliant success, but was subsequently marked by the most signal disasters, that he has obtained so conspicuous a place in the history of India; and it is upon his conduct, in this difficult and responsible post, that his character as a public man hinges. In this personal memoir, we do not

profess to enter upon the broad and much debated ground of the political expediency or justice of the expedition, which involves so great a variety of considerations. Our object is limited to the individual conduct of the Envoy, in this new and untrodden path, during the last three years of his life. But as he is well known to have approved of the policy which led Government to provide for the security of India, by sending an army into Afghanistan, and was probably among those who suggested it, his official character is, to a considerable degree, implicated in the origin as well as the progress of that measure; and the present sketch of his public life would be incomplete if we were to avoid all reference to the political events, on both sides of the Indus, which preceded that resolution.

The year 1838 was marked by a deplorable change in the feelings of our own subjects, and of the princes of India, towards our authority. The confidence they had been accustomed to repose in the permanence of our supremacy was displaced by a feverish anxiety, which was accompanied by an evident impatience of it. The relations between the governed and their rulers, and between the princes of India and our Government, was violently disturbed. A general opinion began to pervade the minds of our own subjects, that the empire was about to be assailed by an overwhelming force from the regions beyond the Indus, under the guidance of an invincible power. For eight hundred years, India had been overrun by successive expeditions from Central Asia. All the revolutions in its government, from the days of Mahmood of Ghuzni, to those of Nadir Shah, had originated across the Indus. Another expedition, from the same cradle of commotions, was immediately expected; and it was supposed that our Government, although it had triumphed over all opposition within the Indus, would be unable to stand the shock of this new irruption. At the beginning of the present century, the invasion of India was attempted by Zeman Shah, the King of Cabool; and Lord Wellesley, in his despatches to the Court of Directors, on that occasion, described it as having "created the strongest sensation throughout India;" and affirmed that, "every Mahomedan, even in the remotest region of the Deccan, waited with anxious expectation for the advance of the champion of Islam." In the year 1838, the same hope was revived throughout the land, and the Mahomedan press began to assume a tone of treasonable defiance. The Persian journals, published in Calcutta, and in Behar, were filled with the most open and scandalous abuse of the *Kafirs*: the British Government was threatened with an irruption of two or three hundred thousand true believers from the other

side of the Indus, under the direction of the irresistible Russians and all good Mussulmans were called on to prepare themselves for the crisis, which was to transfer the sceptre of India to the followers of the prophet. A general feeling of mistrust was rapidly spread through the country, and with it was combined, in many instances, that longing for a change which all conquered nations are apt to indulge in, partly from an undefined hope of benefit, and partly from a feeling of envy. In the "remotest Deccan," according to the testimony of the late Edward Bamberman, the natives began to bury their jewels and money in the ground. Burmah and Nepal openly threatened invasion; and at this latter court, the astrologers were sent to ascertain the period indicated by the planetary movements for the termination of our rule. The public securities, which in India as in England form the gauge of public confidence in existing institutions, were palpably affected by these rumours.

This universal panic was occasioned by the siege of Herat by the Persians under the guidance of Russia, and the avowed declaration, so industriously propagated, that it was the precursor of a larger expedition for the conquest of India. The attitude assumed by the princes of Central Asia towards the British Government served to increase the ferment. The designs of Russia in the East had for more than thirty years been an object of solicitude to our political authorities both at home and in India. It was universally believed, by men of all parties, that the movements of Russian policy in Asia were directed against the tranquillity, if not the existence, of our Eastern empire. No one was perhaps so silly as to expect that a Russian army would be able to march from the Caspian to Calcutta, with the encumbrances of modern warfare, and plant the Muscovite standard on the ramparts of Fort William; but it was evident that Russia was feeling her way to the Indus, and gradually consolidating her influence through Central Asia, with the ultimate view of being able to form a combination of its various chiefs against our power in India, whenever Russia and England might be brought into collision in Europe. Within the present century she had advanced her frontier a thousand miles nearer India, and had already succeeded in establishing a paramount influence over the Persian Court; and a Persian army was laying siege to Herat, under Russian influence, in the very teeth of our remonstrances. The British Envoy in Persia had pressed on our rulers the danger of permitting the city to fall a prey to the Persians, because this would have advanced Russian influence still further toward India, and endangered the tranquillity of our Eastern empire.

While these apprehensions were yet comparatively remote, Lord Auckland was forming plans for the extension of British commerce in the regions of Central Asia, and had deputed Captain (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes to Cabool, to examine and report on the commercial capabilities of that and surrounding states. He was encountered by a Russian Envoy at Cabool, who had come to enlist Dost Mahomed in the confederation of states west of the Indus. In his letter dated July the 5th, on the Indus, Captain Burnes says, "I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly to see into affairs, to judge of what was to be done hereafter—but the hereafter has already arrived, and I have all but deserted my ledger for treaties and politics." While he was moving up the Indus, the Affghans took advantage of the opportunity which presented itself, by the withdrawal of a great part of Runjeet's army on the frontier for the sake of display on the marriage of Nou Nihal and the visit of Sir Henry Fane at Lahore, and defeated the Seikhs at Peshawur. Runjeet Singh, with his vast resources of men and money, was little likely to brook this reverse, and he was preparing to chastise the aggressors. At this critical period, Captain Burnes presented himself at Cabool as our accredited agent, and was cordially received by the Dost, who is said to have fallen into our views. His commission was limited to commercial negotiations, and a promise of protecting the Affghans from the further aggressions of the Seiks, on condition that the tribes west of the Khyber would engage not to appear as aggressors. It had been framed without any view of immediate danger from Russia. But on his arrival at that city he learned the full extent to which Russian diplomacy had been carried, and the views with which Russia was urging on the siege of Herat. "In pushing on Persia to Herat," says he, "the Emperor but insinuates his own power in the very direction he desires. But for our deputation at the time it happened, the house we occupy would have been tenanted by a Russian Agent and Persian Elchee." Notwithstanding the deputation, however, his apprehensions were confirmed by the sudden apparition of a Russian Envoy. On the 20th of December he communicated to the Governor-General "the very extraordinary piece of intelligence that an agent direct from the Emperor of Russia had arrived in Cabool on the preceding day." On the 9th of January he wrote to a friend, "We are in a mess here. Herat is besieged, and may fall, and the Emperor of Russia has sent an envoy to Cabool to offer Dost Mahomed money to fight Runjeet Singh. I could not believe my eyes or ears, but Captain Vicovitch, for that is

the agent's name, arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and sent immediately to pay his respects to me. The Ameer came over to me, and offered to do as I liked, kick him out, or any thing, but I stood too much in fear of Vattel, &c. The chiefs of Candahar are gone over to Persia. I have detached them, and offered them British protection and *cash*, if they would recede and Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so; but am I to stand by and see us ruined at Candahar, when the Government tell me an attack on Herat would be most unpalatable?"

This startling intelligence of the extension of Russian outrage from Herat to Candahar, and from Candahar to Cabool, to the very threshold of our empire, was immediately communicated to Lord Auckland; and his lordship was soon after informed that the despatches of our ambassador in Persia, communicated to Captain Burnes through the Bombay Government, "proved all previous conjectures to be well-founded, and that M. Vicovitch was what he had given himself out, an agent from the Emperor of Russia." "The necessity," he adds, "for a good understanding with this chief (the Dost) has thus become more apparent as the dangers from such an alliance are no longer imaginary, but fairly developed." Lord Auckland, however, was neither prepared to enlist the chiefs of Afghanistan in our interest by money, nor to march an army across the Indus and put an end to these intrigues. Captain Burnes was sharply rebuked for having, wholly without authority, taken on himself the grave responsibility of promising the Candahar chiefs his own presence with their troops, and promising aid from the British Government. He had stated that our offer of mediation with Runjeet Singh was treated slightly by Dost Mahomed, who declared that he had no apprehensions in that direction. To this his lordship replied, that the Dost's own applications, to every quarter open to him, for succour against the danger, manifested the alarm which he himself entertained; that the immense resources of Runjeet would enable him, at any time, to consummate at least the ruin of Dost Mahomed; and that the offer of our good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory, was the utmost demand we could make on Runjeet Singh. The most important part of this despatch, however, is contained in the following sentence:—"Positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the westward, by arms or subsidies, have not been contemplated by his lordship. Not to speak of the exceeding inconvenience of political engagements at a distance so great from our own resources, these measures might raise questions of serious national difficulty, which ought if possible to be reversed,

for the unfettered consideration of the Government of England." There can be no doubt, that when the first report of the danger from Russian intrigue, which had been thus unexpectedly brought to our own doors, came under discussion, the project of a military demonstration, in connection with Shah Soojah, was mentioned among the remedies which might be resorted to; but it was at once rejected by Lord Auckland, as too hazardous; and the temporary, or rather temporizing, expedient was adopted, of simply offering to guarantee Dost Mahomed from all further aggression on the part of the Seikhs in the east, in return for which he was expected to refrain from all intercourse with the powers to the west. An Affghan war was debated, and negatived. Captain Burnes was directed to suggest to the Ameer, that if the Russian Envoy had already gone from Cabool, he should be dismissed with courtesy; and to state distinctly, that if the Dost should seek to retain the agent, and to enter into any kind of political intercourse with him, his (Captain Burnes') mission would retire; that our good offices with the Seikhs would wholly cease, and that such an act would be considered as a direct breach of friendship with the British Government.

This communication, as might naturally have been expected, was anything but satisfactory to the Ameer, who, though he had offered to "kick out" the Russian Envoy on the 11th of December, had allowed him to remain in Cabool to the 5th of March, the date of Captain Burnes' reply, "to make use of him against us." Dost Mahomed, though well affected to the British Government, and much more anxious for the honour and advantage of its alliance than for any connection with remoter allies, was ill-disposed to meet the Governor-General upon the basis of the terms offered. As the price of his adherence to us, he claimed British support as a means of protection from the west, and he demanded the restoration of Peshawur, which had in strict truth never belonged to him, having been left, on the ultimate partition of the Dooranee empire, to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, by whom it was ceded to the Seikhs, he becoming by treaty their feudatory. It became evident to Captain Burnes, that without these concessions we could not "carry his heart with us." The Ameer was also mortified to find, that when the importance of his position in "Affghanistan, the door of India (durwajuh-i-Hind)," was rendered so manifest by the solicitations of the Russian Cabinet through its Envoy, the Governor-General should look with indifference (be purwace) to any connection with the Affghan nation. One of the first individuals, whose counsel he sought, advised that he should take the British Government at its word and dismiss its agent, as there was nothing to be expected from

his presence in Cabool. But the Ameer had not yet made up his mind between a Russian and an English alliance. Nightly meetings were held in the Bala-Hissar; and "the Ameer on more than one occasion gave vent to very strong expressions both as to his future proceedings and his disappointment at the slight degree of appreciation entertained by Government regarding him." Captain Burnes also informed Lord Auckland that there was little "hope of establishing a friendly connexion with him on the terms proposed by Government, and that if it could be brought about, before a change of opinion took place, the friendship would be delusive, and that no dependence could be placed on the chief." Every man at all acquainted with the Oriental character must perceive, that after the arrival of a Russian Envoy, with the most direct offers of assistance for combating Runjeet Singh, and after Dost Mahomed's mind had thus been inflated by the brilliant prospect of conquests beyond the Indus, the repetition of the meagre proposal which we made before the arrival of the Envoy was known, and which assured the Dost of nothing beyond protection against further aggression, must have appeared in his eyes contemptible. We question whether an European monarch would have hesitated so long as the Dost did between the parties. At length, however, he made up his mind to accept the higher offers of Russia. "The game is up," says Captain Burnes, writing from Peshawar, the 6th of May, "the Russians gave me the *coup de grace*, and I could hold no longer at Cabool, so I have fallen back on Peshawar, where I arrived on the 4th. Our Government would do nothing, but the Secretary of the Russian Legation, M. Goutt, came down with the most direct offers of assistance and money, and as I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got wiggled for talking of it at a time when it would have been merely a dead letter to say Affghanistan was under our protection, I was obliged, of course, to give in." And thus ended Captain Burnes's ill-fated mission, which was sent in search of commerce, and brought back war.

The retirement, under such circumstances, of Captain Burnes threw the Government of India into a state of embarrassment. Far better would it have been that he had not made his appearance at Cabool, than that he should be obliged to retire by the preponderance of Russian influence and intrigue. We believe it was much about the time when news of the disastrous termination of the mission reached Lord Auckland, that he received the despatches of the ministry at home, urging the most vigorous measures to counteract the machinations of Russia, and advising that the danger which menaced our Indian empire should be warded off by our Indian resources of men and money. His lord-



ship had now, therefore, the resolutions which had been formed by the "unfettered consideration" of the Government in England, and began to contemplate "those positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the eastward by our arms or subsidies," from which he had turned with alarm five months before. The door of reconciliation with Dost Mahomed had been closed by the retirement of Captain Burnes, and to have revived our negotiations with him would only have served to heighten his vanity, to induce him to rise in his demands, and give him additional reasons for "making use of the Russian Envoy against us." It would have been tantamount to putting up the peace and security of our empire to auction, to be knocked down to the highest bidder. The coincidence, in point of time, of Captain Burnes's return, with the arrival of advices from home, characterized doubtless by Lord Palmerston's usual vigour, led to the renewed consideration of the plan for establishing a British influence at Cabool by the restoration of Shah Soojah; and the expedition to Afghanistan was resolved on.

It is no part of the duty we have undertaken to enter on a defence of this unfortunate expedition, which proved the grave of our treasure, our army, and our national honour. But those who took a share in suggesting it, —and more especially the subject of this article, —are entitled to an equitable consideration of the circumstances in which they were called to act, and of the motives which regulated their conduct. It is always deemed a matter of historical justice, when the merits of those who have taken the lead in public affairs in past ages are examined, to give due weight to the circumstances, the feelings, and the impulses of the times. Equity demands that the benefit of the same principle should be extended to those who have been entrusted with the direction of public measures in our own day, and that the fullest regard should be paid to the circumstances upon which they are thrown, and the inevitable influence of those events on their judgment. There can be no hesitation in saying that the expedition was injudicious and hazardous. Had those who were at the head of affairs at the time been as fully apprised of the natural difficulties of the country, of the impossibility of marching a Russian army and its commissariat to the Indus, and of the state of public feeling in Afghanistan, as we are, they would never have adopted the alternative of this expedition. But, in 1838, the danger to our Indian empire, from the combination which Russia had succeeded in effecting among the powers of Central Asia, appeared most imminent and pressing; and the means adopted to avert it were such as

seemed, on the maturest contemplation, to be most suitable to the emergency, and best calculated to roll back the advancing tide of invasion, and to revive the confidence of our subjects and the princes of India. It was supposed that the present attempt to establish Russian influence in the neighbourhood of the Indus, could in no way be so effectually and so conclusively counteracted, as by establishing a Government at Cabool which should be firm to our own interests. We might have bought off Dost Mahomed from the Russian alliance by subsidies, but this would have afforded us no certainty that he would always be proof against higher allurements from St. Petersburg. And probably it appeared in the light of a degradation that the empire, which we had won by our statesmanship and valour, should owe its tranquillity to the forbearance of a mercenary chief, whom we were required to keep in good humour by the punctuality of our payments. The peace of the country must always, it was supposed, be insecure while it continued to be subject of hucksterage with the prince who held the gates of India. When once we had begun to purchase his favour by subsidies, we gave him an advantage over us, which he must have been a fool not to use for the extortion of larger subsidies under the threat of admitting another Russian Envoy. It was felt that the security of our empire would be irrecoverably compromised whenever we were obliged, like the Emperors of Rome in its decline, to buy off the barbarians on our frontier. Neither was it exactly in accordance with our national spirit, to wait calmly till we were invaded, and to sit down on the banks of the Indus with an army of fifty thousand men in expectation of our enemies. It was natural that we should determine to do as we had always hitherto done in India,—carry the war at once beyond our own territories, and anticipate the design of our opponents. The effect on the minds of our own subjects, and of the princes in our alliance within the Indus, of a bold course of policy was not, perhaps, without its weight on those who were responsible for the peace of the empire. Had we averted aggression by subsidies, or even waited for the enemy on our frontier, the disaffected would probably have been emboldened rather than discouraged, and plots would have been multiplied. But the despatch of an army to the scene of intrigue and danger was calculated to strike awe into the minds of all those who were speculating on our imbecility. The motives which dictated the expedition were therefore above suspicion. It was from no impulse of passion, from no lust of territorial aggrandizement, but simply to ward off a great national calamity, and secure the tranquillity of this

empire, that we took up arms and marched into Afghanistan ; and even the warmest and ablest of Tory advocates, the *Quarterly Review*, applauded, for once, the wisdom and spirit of its political opponents in thus endeavouring to meet the danger half way, instead of waiting for its approach. And here we may be permitted to remark that the effect of this resolution was magical. It repressed at once the hostile expectations which the discontented had begun to cherish ; it confounded the rulers who were waiting to take advantage of our weakness ; it raised the public funds, and gave fresh assurance to those whose safety depended on our energy.

The measure which appeared to the public authorities at this crisis the most advisable for carrying this plan into effect, was the establishment of a government in Afghanistan bound to us by the ties of gratitude and a common interest, by the substitution of Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabool in the room of Dost Mahomed. The title of this latter chief to the Government was inferior to that of the Shah. There were abundant proofs before our Government of the tyranny of Dost Mahomed ; and it was asserted by officers who professed to know the country—and the assertion was supported by invitations to return from every chief of note, Newab Jubber Khan, the Dost's brother at their head—that the legitimate monarch would be received with open arms by the Affghans. He had on one occasion attempted the recovery of his paternal throne without our aid ; he had been joined by many chiefs of note, and was within a tittle of success. It was felt that Affghanistan, in his hands, would cease to be the theatre of intrigues against our power. On the political morality or turpitude of this measure, there has been a wide diversity of opinion. It has been denounced with an energy almost amounting to ferocity on the one hand ; on the other it has been defended by a reference to the crisis of the times, to the magnitude of the danger, and to the general practice of states on all such emergencies—Having thus stated the circumstances under which the Affghan policy was adopted, without, however, attempting to pronounce an opinion on the propriety or impropriety of that policy, we take leave of the subject, with this simple remark, that the attack on Tippoo Sultan by Lord Wellesley, under circumstances nearly similar, was condemned at the time as severely as the expedition to Affghanistan, and by no one more inexorably than by the historian Mill. Yet in the evidence he gave before Parliament, we find the following singular assertion : “ I consider that we have nothing now between us and the most desirable frontier every-

where but the territory of Runjeet Sing. If we were threatened on the north-west, for example, by an invasion of the Russians, we should in self-defence *be obliged to take possession of the country to the foot of the hills*, as we could not leave an intermediate space in which the enemy might establish themselves,"—that is, we should be obliged to take possession of the Punjab in self-defence, whatever might be the sentiments of the ruler towards us. And thus have we been apparently acting in self-defence, from the time when our factory was plundered, and our public officers put to death by Surāja-Dowlah, till our factory has swelled into an empire, and our frontier fort now overlooks the Sutlege.

When the expedition had been determined on, Mr. Maenaghten was deputed to Lahore to conclude the tripartite treaty between Runjeet Sing, Shah Soojah, and the British Government. This was the first negotiation in which he had been employed, and the skill with which it was managed earned for him the warm commendation of the Governor-General. On his return arrangements were made for the assemblage of an army, intended to raise the siege of Herat, and to accompany Shah Soojah to Cabool. The command of it was to be entrusted to Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief. While these military movements were in progress, it occurred to Lord Auckland that it would be necessary to place a minister at the Court of the Shah to represent our interests, and to watch over the progress of events in Central Asia. Mr. Maenaghten was selected for this arduous duty. Some of the least scrupulous of the writers who have discussed Afghan politics have asserted, that the expedition itself was undertaken to gratify Mr. Maenaghten's ambition, and to "get rid of him." It is scarcely necessary to observe that the infamy which this charge reflects on the Envoy and the Governor-General is altogether gratuitous. The appointment of Mr. Maenaghten had not been fixed, as we learn from Capt. Burnes, on the 25th August, that is, two months after the treaty had been completed. He says, "I believe the chief (Sir H. Fane) and Maenaghten will be made a Commission; as for Maenaghten, he is Secretary for all India, and goes *pro tem*." Several eminent names suggested themselves to Lord Auckland for this post; but Mr. George Clerk was required to watch over the complicated web of Punjabee politics, and could not be spared. Col. Pottinger was not personally known to his Lordship; and it appeared necessary to employ on this difficult errand one who was in possession of the Governor-General's views of Central Asian policy, and to whom, from personal knowledge, he could entrust the completion of them with confidence. No man ap-

peared fitter for this duty than Mr. Macnaghten. He was intimately acquainted with the native languages, and with the habits, and feelings, and policy of the natives. He was an officer of large experience in public affairs, and of sound judgment; and the caution of his natural disposition had been improved and matured by his connection with the prudent Lord William Bentinck. He had assisted at the discussions which terminated in the resolution to make Afghanistan British, and he was fully master, to all appearance, of the various bearings of the question. A fitter agent could not have been selected. On the 1st of October he was gazetted as Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Soojah, and accompanied Lord Auckland to the great gathering of the troops at Ferozepore.

While the army was encamped there, it was announced that the Persians had raised the siege of Herat, and retired. It has been urged that the *casus belli* terminated with the relief of this place; and that, if this event rendered it advisable to reduce the army by one-half, it also pointed out the necessity of relinquishing the expedition altogether. Had the object of it been simply the relief of Herat, and the retrogression of the Persian bands, our army might have been disbanded with great propriety. But Government sought not simply temporary relief, but permanent security. The danger had blown over for a time, but it was not extinct. The disposition of the chiefs of Central Asia to entertain the proposals of our European rivals, and open or shut the gates of India to them as their offers might appear more or less tempting, was likely to be encouraged rather than checked by the important efforts we had deemed it necessary to make on the first appearance of a rival envoy. It still seemed advisable to extinguish these intrigues at once and for ever, by placing a monarch in our interest on the throne, and establishing a paramount influence throughout Afghanistan. Besides, there was a treaty already signed, sealed, and delivered, by which our Government was bound to assist in the restoration of the Shah, without any reference to the relief or capture of Herat. This treaty it would have been infamous to have violated. The army was, therefore, reduced in number, and sent out on its long and dreary march, through untrodden deserts and mountain defiles, to seat the Shah on the throne of his ancestors, and Mr. Macnaghten accompanied him as envoy and minister. The military arrangements were modified. Sir W. Cotton was directed to march with the Bengal column to Sukker, and there to cross to the left bank of the Indus, over a bridge of boats; while Sir John Keane, who was appointed General-in-chief, moved up with the Bombay column from Kurrachee.

A more difficult and delicate office than that to which Mr. Macnaghten was now appointed has seldom been confided to a subordinate functionary in the east. He was the chief political agent in an expedition sent on a hazardous errand, through unknown regions, where the military or political experience acquired in India could be of little avail. He was to accompany a prince, whom our presence was likely to render unpopular, through a country of the most impracticable character, which had been the grave of many previous expeditions, and to seat him on the throne of his ancestors. He was in a difficult position as to the people of the country, and in a still more difficult position as to the military authorities with whom he was associated. The diplomatic arrangements were placed in one hand, and the military direction of affairs in another. In these circumstances, it was scarcely possible that the two classes of offices should not come into collision, on the numerous occasions in which either negotiations were to regulate military movements, or those movements to assist negotiations. It required no small tact and temper to prevent the interruption of the object of the expedition by misunderstandings. Few expeditions have ever been despatched under the direction of co-ordinate authorities, military, or naval, or diplomatic, which have not been exposed to the risk of failure by dissensions. Our recent enterprizes in China and Afghanistan furnish no exception to this rule. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise, that in an expedition of so peculiar a character as that in Afghanistan, discord should have early made its appearance. Unfortunately, on all occasions in which the military and political officers clash, it is the fashion to throw all the blame on the diplomatic functionary, and on his interference.

Mr. Macnaghten has been censured severely for meddling with Sir Willoughby Cotton's movement upon Hyderabad; but it must not be forgotten that in this instance it was not with arrangements strictly military that he interfered. He protested against the diversion of the force from the great object of the expedition. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of an immediate and uninterrupted advance on Candahar; and the departure of Sir Willoughby towards Hyderabad to assist Sir John Keane in an enterprize which it was believed he could accomplish single-handed, appeared an unnecessary sacrifice of a whole season. In his letter of the 6th February, 1839, he says, "If Sir Willoughby's entire division is to move all the way down to Hyderabad, it is quite clear that it can take no part for the present season in the operations in Afghanistan." At the same time, he expressed himself with no little distrust. "It is with diffidence I state my notions on this subject, but I feel that I

am placed in a very responsible situation. I do not find that Sir John Keane has called for any support from this quarter.”—“I can therefore have no hesitation in expressing the opinion I entertain. Sir W. Cotton will, I am sure (and I expect the same indulgence from Sir H. Fane, should his Excellency be with the army), pardon the freedom with which I have ventured to discuss topics not within my peculiar province, and I will attribute my doing so to the earnest desire we all feel of contributing to advance the cause of our Government. I have stated my political views, and, in doing so, have unavoidably touched upon matters not strictly within my province. I shall, of course, be freed from the responsibility if the Major-general, on military grounds, should not think fit to adopt my suggestions.”

These quotations will serve to show the good feeling with which Mr. Macnaghten was actuated in these delicate circumstances. They also demonstrate, that one great cause to which our expulsion from Afghanistan is to be attributed—the defect, rather the non-existence, of any intelligence department—was already in fatal operation. Sir W. Cotton actually made a diversion of his troops towards Hyderabad without having received any orders from Sir John Keane. On the 25th January, he wrote from Roree to the Governor-General, to say that, “in the absence of any intelligence from Sir John Keane, it had become absolutely necessary to consider how the force under him could be disposed of most usefully to assist the pending negotiations of Sir John Keane or Col. Pottinger. He had determined, therefore upon making an immediate demonstration with the cavalry brigades, the horse artillery, Brigadier Sale’s brigade, and the camel battery;” adding, “should Sir John not want us we can countermarch.” Sir Henry Fane, who was then with Sir W. Cotton’s division, was greatly in favour of this movement. “My opinion,” says he, “is that a stronger demonstration be made towards Hyderabad.” This was also the course which Sir John Keane himself directed, though his letters appear never to have reached either Sir Willoughby Cotton or Mr. Macnaghten. For on the 6th February Mr. Macnaghten writes, “the state of our intelligence department is lamentable in the extreme. We are utterly ignorant of Sir John Keane’s movements and motives,”—thirteen days after he had written for reinforcements,—“whether he is at Jurruk or Tatta—whether he has retreated—and if he has, whether from deficiency of means, or to lead the enemy on; and we know nothing as to what the Ameers are doing, where they are, or what terms have been offered them.” It was in this state of uncertainty that he wrote to Mr. Colvin on the 5th February to say, “Sir Willoughby is clearly gone

on a wild-goose chase. He cannot possibly, I think, be at Hyderabad under twenty-five days from this date, and he seems to be travelling by a route which has no road. He will soon, I fear, find himself in the jungle."

On the 6th February, Mr. Macnaghten received despatches from Lord Auckland, in which he stated his anxious desire that a portion of the Bengal army should be sent into Afghanistan in support of the advance of Shah Soojah. Fortified by this opinion, the envoy wrote in most decisive language to Sir Wilmoughby,—“I, therefore, in virtue of the powers vested in me by his Lordship, require you to furnish me with such a force as shall be sufficient to enable me to give effect to his Lordship's plans in Afghanistan. I have already urged, in the strongest terms, your crossing over to this side of the river with your whole force. Of Sir John Keane's army there can be no apprehensions.” These expressions gave great offence, and the matter was referred to the Governor-General, and his Lordship expressed himself not satisfied with the language of Mr. Macnaghten's communication. His reply to Lord Auckland throws much light on his character:—“It is needless now to occupy your Lordship's time with any attempt at a defence of my proceedings. My first wish is to gain your approbation; and I can safely say that I am no less solicitous than your Lordship to preserve the most perfect understanding with the military authorities. Of this I trust you will have been convinced by my subsequent correspondence. Nothing could have induced me to hazard a collision with the authorities but the overwhelming importance of the crisis which I (it now appears erroneously) thought was of such a nature as imperatively to require my interposition, believing, as I firmly did, and still do, that your Lordship's grand objects in Afghanistan were on the point of being defeated without the existence of any emergency to justify the risk.” At the same time he wrote to a friend:—“I fully expected the unqualified approbation of the Governor-General. In this I have been disappointed; but if I am to be blamed, do not charge me with that of which, on reference to my letter which you quote, you will find I am perfectly innocent. I repeat that I never did presume to use the language of *direction* in military matters, and that of my *counsel* in such matters I have been particularly chary, except upon one occasion. Excuse all this. You have ripped up an old sore, and it will run. \* \* \*

We have dwelt more largely on this transaction, because it is the solitary instance we can find of Mr. Macnaghten's actual collision with the military authorities. The experience which he obtained on this occasion of the inflammability of their disposi-



tion enabled him, by his admirable tact and management, to prevent any farther clashing of orders.

Several days, however, before this correspondence between Mr. Macnaghten and Sir Willoughby Cotton, our disputes with the Ameers of Scinde had been brought to a close without any intimation of the approach of the Bengal column. On the 1st of February they agreed to the terms dictated by the British Government, and the Bombay and Bengal contingents were at length at liberty to pursue the original objects of the expedition. The Bengal column reached Shikarpore on the 20th of February, and led the way towards the Bolan Pass on the 23rd. The Shah's troops and camp did not move before the 7th of March. Although the army did not encounter the opposition of an enemy for four months and a half till it reached Ghuzni, yet the hardships to which it was exposed from the natural difficulties of this region of wild deserts and stupendous mountains from the want of provisions and the loss of camels, were such as an Indian army had seldom, if ever, experienced before. The envoy had no sooner broken ground at Shikarpore than he learned that his hopes of provision and forage on the line of march were to be miserable disappointed. "Captain Johnson," says he, writing from Wagon, "has just received the melancholy intelligence that not a grain of any sort had been laid in for us at Dadur." On reaching Baugh, he found that the necessity of using the green crops for the army had ruined the inhabitants. "Their crops have been destroyed, and the water intended for the irrigation of their fields diverted for the use of our armies. I went out this morning to see what damage had been done. The devastation is grievous. My most strenuous endeavours have been directed day and night towards reconciling all persons of influence to our operations. Our officers and our measures are alike unpopular in this country." Three days after this letter was written, on the 22nd March, he says,— "The Bombay force is nearly on the point of starvation. This is a wretched country in every respect. It may be said to produce nothing but plunderers; but with the knowledge we now have of it, we may bid defiance to the Russian hordes as far as this route is concerned."

Of the difficulties of the terrific Bolan Pass it seems that neither the political nor military authorities had any adequate idea before they were called to encounter them. "It is really quite miraculous," says Mr. Macnaghten, "that the army has not been opposed when every inch of our way might have been disputed. That it would have been so next year, any one who has heard of the activity of Captain Vicovitch alone can hardly

doubt." After these formidable passes had been surmounted, Mr. Macnaghten's first care was to determine how our communications with the Indus could be kept open, and he immediately proposed to Lord Auckland the formation of a local corps to consist of the various tribes of mountaineers—a project which was speedily effected by the organization of a corps of Bolan rangers. The mountaineers were thus reconciled to us by high and regular pay, and from that time forward the Pass was effectually kept open, free from all danger. The army at length reached the valley of Shawl, and there the envoy learned that the mission of Sir Alexander Burnes to Khelat had entirely failed. There is no reason to believe that the Khan had taken any steps to oppose our progress through the Pass, for even his rabble army might have effectually blocked it up. The robberies which had kept our troops so constantly on the alert might be referred to the larcenous disposition of the mountain tribes, who required no stimulus beyond that which was afforded by the magnitude of the prize presented to their view. But the Khan had withheld all supplies of provisions, and reduced our army to extremity by the scarcity he created. Sir Alexander obtained nothing from him but an "impertinent lecture" about the errors of our policy, in all which, strange to say, he acknowledged that he had himself fully concurred. Yet it is worthy of remark, that when our difficulties in Afghanistan were at their height, Beloochistan, owing to the successful exertions and the influence of Colonel Stacey, remained tranquil. Mehrab Khan is said to have asked Sir Alexander, "how we were to get out of Afghanistan now we had got in?" He forgot how much easier it was to manage the people of Khelat than those of Afghanistan. The retiring portion of our troops under General England, in fact, got out of the country by the same route by which we entered it, and with infinitely greater ease.

At Quetta, the same distress for provisions was felt. "The resources of the country," says the envoy, "are hermetically sealed to us, and our troops are starving on quarter rations, while the British Mission is compelled to purchase their means of subsistence by stealth. . . . The fact is, the troops and followers are nearly in a state of mutiny for food." Three days after, on reaching Hykulzie—since rendered so memorable by the unaccountable defeat of General England, and the influence of this reverse inducing Lord Ellenborough to sound a retreat from Afghanistan—Mr. Macnaghten writes in the following strain, —and we make the quotation to show the amazing difficulties of his position, and the firmness of mind which he displayed in these arduous circumstances,—“The whole of the force, from

Sir W. Cotton downwards, are infected with exaggerated fears relating to the character of the King and the prospects of the campaign. They fancy they see an enemy in every bush. The Khan of Khelat is our implacable enemy, and Sir J. Keane is burning with revenge. There never was such treatment inflicted on civilized beings as we have been subjected to in our progress through the Khan's country. I will say nothing of Burnes's negotiations. His instructions were to conciliate, but I think he adhered too strictly to the letter of them. The Commander-in-Chief is very angry. I would give something to be in Candahar, and there, Inshallah, we shall be in about a week; but, in the meantime, this union of strictly disciplined troops with lawless soldiers is very trying to my patience. With a less tractable king than Shah Soojah the consequences might be fatal. I have reference every minute in the day, and we are compelled to tell his Majesty's people that they must not touch the green crops of the country. This they think very hard, and so I believe does the King; but he has nevertheless forbidden them."

The army reached Candahar on the 25th of April, and Mr. Macnaghten announced to the Governor-General that the Shah had been received with enthusiasm. This statement has been represented by those opposed to the war as an instance of duplicity. It is possible that the envoy may have been mistaken in his observations, and have allowed his wishes in some measure to influence his judgment, but that he was perfectly conscientious in his belief that the reception of the Shah was cordial is abundantly manifest from his private correspondence. "The Shah made a grand public entry in the city this morning, and was received with feelings nearly amounting to adoration. I shall report the particulars officially. I have already had more than one ebullition of petulance to contend with. The latest I send herewith, and I trust that a soft answer will have the effect of turning away wrath. There are many things which I wish to mention, but I really have no leisure. Of this your Lordship may judge when I state that for the last three days I have been out in the sun, and have not been able to get breakfast before three in the afternoon." The army was detained at Candahar waiting for provisions more than two months. This period was employed by Mr. Macnaghten in taking those measures which appeared necessary to carry out the great objects of the expedition—the establishment of British influence and the erection of a bulwark against invasion in Central Asia. Evidence of the perfidy of the Khelat chief had crowded on him as he advanced to Candahar, and he now proposed, as the slightest penalty which could be inflicted on him, to annex Moostung, Shawl, and Cutch

Gundava to the Shah's dominions. The project of despatching a large portion of the force to Herat, which had been uppermost in the envoy's thoughts, was now laid aside; and Major D'Arcy Todd, who had acquired singular perfection in the Persian language, and had acquitted himself with much credit in the difficult political negotiations which had been entrusted to him in Persia, was sent to Herat to negotiate a treaty with Shah Kamram, and promote British interests. Major Sanders, of the Engineers, whose subsequent death on the field of battle at Maharajpore was so deeply deplored by the whole army at this Presidency, was sent to repair and improve the fortifications of Herat, on which no less than thirty lacs of rupees were expended. The sum proved a dead loss; but we should have probably sustained a far greater and more deplorable loss if, at the period of our disasters, a British army had been unfortunately locked up in that city.

Nothing particularly worthy of notice occurs, for some time after this, in the career of the Envoy. The military memoirs of the war have told how Ghuzni was taken through the skill of Major Thompson, and the valour of the army, after the siege train had been so unaccountably left behind; how the Dost fled, and how the Shah was installed in the Bala Hissar, and how a considerable portion of the army was then sent back to India. We are anxious to touch chiefly upon those events which served to exhibit the character of the Envoy, and more particularly on those which are exemplified by his own letters. At the beginning of 1840, he was honoured with the most substantial token of the approbation with which his conduct in Afghanistan was viewed, by being raised to the dignity of a baronet. The Envoy was, about this time, relieved from the anxiety naturally occasioned by the Dost's hovering on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, by his departure to the court of the Khan of Bokhara. This circumstance led eventually to the surrender of the Dost's family into our hands, which was the most important event in the early half of the year 1840. The "Commander of the Faithful," as the Khan styles himself, received Dost Mahomed with cordiality, and pressed him to send for his family, to whom he promised every kindness. But the Dost knew the character of the Khan too well to place the objects of his affection within the reach of that prince. He accordingly wrote a letter to his brother, which was shown to the Khan, requesting that they might be sent on to the friendly court of Bokhara; at the same time, he wrote privately to authorize him rather to put them to death than to allow them to set foot within the territories of

Bokhara. Long and anxiously did the Commander of the Faithful look out for the Dost's Zenana and their jewels and ornaments, which he intended to transfer to his own treasures; but when he found that he was mocked by his guest, he cast both the Dost and his sons into prison, saying, "There shalt thou remain till thy family is brought to Bokhara." Jubber Khan was now at a loss to know how to act, as his own residence, and that of his brother's family, ceased to be safe in Koolloom, after the sentiments of the Bokhara chief were known. Negotiations were, therefore, opened with the Envoy, who was, above all things, anxious to obtain possession of the Dost's family, as, "in that case, the Khan of Bokhara could make no use of him." The proposal made to Dr. Lord, our political agent in the north, on the subject, was, therefore peculiarly acceptable, and he was instructed to offer a safe and honourable asylum to the whole of the family, on the condition of their residing where our Government might think proper. This resolution was ill-relished by Shah Soojah. "He does not understand," says the Envoy, "upon what principle he can be expected to grant them an asylum, or maintenance:—nothing short of absolute force will induce him to contribute a rupee to their support." But in spite of the Shah's reluctance, the negotiation proceeded, and Jubber Khan arrived at Urgundee, on the 15th July, with a long cavalcade of the wives, daughters, and servants of the fugitive Dost, to the number of two hundred and thirty-nine. This step was taken with his full knowledge and sanction; and the confidence which he thus reposed in the honour and good faith of those who had dethroned him, while he refused it to one of his own creed, reflects no small credit on our national character.

At the commencement of 1840, it had been announced that the Russian Government had despatched a large army to Khiva. This expedition naturally served to confirm those suspicions of the designs of Russia in Central Asia, which had originally suggested the idea of marching into Afghanistan. The magnitude of the armament, and the terms of the Russian manifesto, combined to show that our apprehensions were by no means chimerical. The army consisted of twenty-four thousand men, and seventy-two pieces of cannon, and could not have been intended simply to subdue the insignificant state of Khiva. The manifesto adopted the very same language which had been employed in Lord Auckland's Simla Notification, and declared that the object of the expedition was to chastise the Khan, to liberate the Russian slaves, and "to establish the lawful influence to which Russia has a right in that part of Asia;" and that "the

troops would be withdrawn as soon as an order of things conformable to the interests of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic states, should be established on a permanent footing." This army was driven back by the extreme cold of those regions, to which nearly all the cattle fell victims; but until its discomfiture was known, the anxieties of Sir William Macnaghten were in no small degree excited. Sir Alexander Burnes, in whom the *Russophobia*, inspired by the unexpected meeting with Vicovitch at Cabool, had not subsided, was a prey to deep alarm. The Envoy repeatedly alludes to this invasion as increasing the difficulties of his position, though he doubted the possibility of Russia bringing an army to the banks of the Oxus. "I confess," says he, "I am rather sceptical as to the power of the Autoerat to push anything in the shape of an army so far, in one or even in two campaigns. Burnes, however, is alarmed. He says we are altogether deceived as to the strength of the Russian army; that it is now actually in possession of Khiva, and will shortly be at Bokhara. You may imagine the anxiety with which I am looking for authentic intelligence from the north." This letter is dated the 1st of April. On the 14th, he alludes to the possibility of the Russians being in force on the Oxus as a reason for reinforcement, and as showing that the case contemplated by the Home Authorities had risen. On the 10th of May, he proposed that Sir Alexander Burnes himself should proceed on a mission to the Russian camp; but the idea was abandoned. "He said he would willingly go, if ordered; but that," says the Envoy, "is not the spirit which should animate our Elchee." All these apprehensions were dissipated by the failure of the Russians. We cannot dismiss this subject without noting the singular and significant fact, that when the actual progress of the expedition was announced in India, it produced no sensation; whereas, the mere rumour of the approach of a Persian army, with the assistance of Russia, two years before, had thrown the whole country into a state of the most feverish anxiety. This enigma may be satisfactorily solved by the consideration that our expedition across the Indus, whatever might be its policy or justice, was a bold and energetic measure, calculated to show the people and princes of India that we were prepared for every emergency, and that the spirit which had achieved the conquest of India was yet in its vigour. Our empire was, therefore, considered safe, whatever force might assail it from the West.

The project of marching an army beyond the Hindoo Koosh, into Koolloom, and probably to Bokhara, which had been entertained and abandoned soon after the capture of Cabool, was

resumed in the following year ; but chiefly for the benevolent object of releasing Col. Stoddart from the confinement to which he had been so basely subjected by that model of Mahomedan virtue, the Khan of Bokhara. "Let us examine," says the Envoy, "what we are to gain by such a movement, and upon what principles it should be conducted. The first thing to be gained is the punishment of the Shah of Bokhara, for his frequent and outrageous violation of the law of nations, and the release of our agent, Colonel Stoddart, who without some exertion on our part will, it is likely, be doomed to incarceration for life. I suppose the expedition to be conveniently feasible, if entered upon at the proper season of the year. What Tymoor Shah effected, we can do ; and with proper arrangement we may either enlist on our side, or keep neutral, the chiefs between us and Bokhara. If we compelled the Shah of Bokhara to release Stoddart, to evacuate all the countries on this side of the Oxus, and to pay the expenses of the expedition, we should have achieved all that is desirable." The plan seems to have been communicated to Mr. Robertson, the Governor of Agra, who questioned the propriety of undertaking so distant an expedition, while we were not masters of the Khyber behind us. The following is Sir William Macnaghten's reply to this objection :—"Doubtless, it must have appeared to you an inconsistency that I should think of sending troops across the Hindoo Koosh, while we have not the power of subjugating the Khyberies ; but I regard the former undertaking as infinitely easier than the latter. We know tolerably well what we should have to contend with in Toorkistan, whereas we are utterly ignorant of the fastnesses of the Khyberies, and of the means of resistance possessed by their chiefs. All we know is that the country is fearfully strong, and that each individual is a soldier and a good marksman, behind his native rock. Besides, in sending a force into Toorkistan we should be able to turn to account the strength of the Affghan nation, which consists in its cavalry, and which would be utterly useless in the Khyber." He does not appear, however, to have formed anything like a determination seriously to propose such a movement, for within eleven days after this letter to Mr. Robertson, he writes to Lord Auckland, "I am glad to find that the resolution I have formed of keeping on this side the Hindoo Koosh meets your Lordship's approbation ;" and from that time onwards, we hear nothing more on the subject. Although he was anxious to despatch Captains Conolly and Rawlinson to Kokan to procure intelligence, he says, "As to military movements, I am decidedly opposed to them, especially while we have subtle and inveterate enemies

in our rear. I would rather expend the money which such expeditions would cost in fortifying the strongholds of Afghanistan. Cabool, for less than two lakhs of rupees, might be made very formidable." He then alludes to strengthening the fortifications of Ghuznié and Candahar. But the Envoy did not remit his exertions to extricate Col. Stoddart, when he gave up the idea of sending an army against Bokhara. In June 1840, he prevailed on the Shah to make a last effort for the release of that officer, and to secure a better understanding with the Ameer, by sending to the latter a holy man, "whom he would not dare to treat with indignity, and to whom he must listen."—"The disgraceful treatment," says he, "which poor Col. Stoddart still suffers, is an opprobrium to our nation." The number of holy men was soon after doubled; the Shah was prevailed on to send two, and Mr. Macnaghten promised 10,000 rs. to each, in the event of their succeeding in the liberation of Col. Stoddart. The result of this mission is not stated in the correspondence; but we know too well that although it may probably have led to some relaxation of the rigours of confinement, it did not procure the liberation of Colonel Stoddart, who was barbarously executed soon after intelligence of the murder of the Envoy, and the annihilation of the army, reached the 'Commander of the Faithful.'

The anxieties of Sir W. Macnaghten's position in Afghanistan, were such as British officers in the East have seldom been called to encounter. He was required to maintain the authority of a prince seated on the throne by our interference, and maintained by our bayonets; at the same time, it was necessary to allay the national jealousy, and to shape every measure so as to refute the idea that the Shah was not an independent but a foreign king. Writing in March 1840, the Envoy says, "We must, even where there seems to be oppression, avoid, as much as possible, interference in these petty concerns, and endeavour, by all the means in our power, to show that his Majesty is really the king of the country, and that the rule does not rest with the Feringees: that it does so, is the eternal burden of the song of our enemies." It has been affirmed that he was totally unfit for the high duties of such a charge in such a country; that the tendencies of his own mind, and his previous pursuits, fitted him only for the bench of the Sudder court; and that his attention was absorbed in judicial and fiscal details at Cabool, when he ought to have devoted his time to the political management of the kingdom. There can be no doubt that he would have proved a bright ornament to the Sudder court, and revived the remembrance of the days when



Colebrooke, and Harington, and Courtney Smith presided in it ; but it is altogether an error to suppose that, while in Afghanistan, his mind was engaged in those pursuits which he had prosecuted in his earlier days with so much ardour and success. In writing to a friend, about this time, he said, " We are solemnly bound to refrain from interfering with the internal administration ; and in my advice I have been cautious to urge no innovations which could, at this early stage of our connection with them, shock the prejudices of the people." His energies were exclusively devoted to the complicated political relations of the country, to the conciliation of the chiefs, to the repression of domestic hostility, and to the anticipation of external danger.

The political responsibilities of his post were of so novel and anomalous a character, that he could derive no benefit from our political experience in India. In India we have the advantage of dealing with a population professing different and hostile creeds, and might always calculate on support against Mahomedan bigotry in the feelings of the Hindoos. In Afghanistan, for the first time in our Indian career, we were thrown in the midst of an unmixed Mahomedan population, bound together by the strongest bonds religious union, and animated by feelings of inveterate hostility to us, and without the smallest support from the votaries of a rival creed. On whichever side the Envoy looked, he beheld none but open foes, or fawning and treacherous sycophants. There was no body of men, and no chief in whom he could place confidence. He was disposed to think that Shah Soojah might have been stronger even without our aid :—" Though our presence here doubtless strengthens the Shah, it must be remembered that in some sense it weakens him. There is no denying that he has been supported by infidels, and were we not here, he would adopt Afghan means of suppressing disturbances, such as we could not be a party to." It was, however, Dost Mahomed's opinion that the Shah's presence weakened us ; and perhaps both opinions may be right. Had we withdrawn from Cabool after he was seated on the throne, leaving with him only a British resident and a subsidy, it is quite possible that he might have been able long to maintain his authority ; although this was doubted at the time. On the other hand, had we taken the country for ourselves, and made the administration British in principle, and at once announced to the chiefs and people that we had come to re-annex Cabool to the empire of India, and should endeavour to make our rule as advantageous as possible to them, it is equally possible that we might have encountered

less hatred and opposition. It was the double Government established in Afghanistan, which proved so great a source of embarrassment. We carefully abstained from all interference in the internal administration, except in that mode which made us the object of particular hatred. Of the extent to which the misconduct of the king's officers brought odium on us, a fair estimate may be formed from the fact that the inhabitants of Kohistan, who detested Dost Mahomed for his oppressions, and among whom we were most likely to have met with cordial support, were turned into our most bitter foes by their misconduct.

The military and political reforms, which the Envoy found it necessary to introduce, served also to alienate the minds of the Chiefs and to increase the irritation of our presence in the country. It was part of his policy to render the Government of the Shah independent of the support of the Chiefs, whose armed retainers and followers had heretofore formed the bulk of the army of the Cabool Ruler. The Chiefs had thus been enabled to exercise a powerful and pernicious influence on the administration, which indeed may be said to have existed chiefly through their concurrence. To consolidate the Government of the Shah, and give it a sound constitution, it was indispensable to break up this influence; and the Envoy endeavoured to accomplish the object by organizing a national force. We had been enabled to conquer and retain India by employing the troops of the country and bringing them under the exclusive influence of our Government, and moulding them according to our own wishes and interest. The same policy was expected to produce corresponding results in Afghanistan; and the Envoy was not without hopes that the throne of the Shah might be so strengthened by this national army as to render the presence and the expense of so large a body of our own troops unnecessary. To this task, therefore, Sir W. Macnaghten directed his earliest attention. "Khyberies," says he, "the Juzailchees and the Putheera corps are all national troops, which have been raised in lieu of Colonel Wade's useless levies. In addition to these we must have a small corps of Kohistanies, and another of Hazareh's." The Janbaz came also within this denomination. "If we can get his Majesty to set apart a portion of the revenue for the payment of the Afghan Horse, and fix the number within moderate limits, we shall soon have a good National Force." The Chiefs felt that the success of this plan would be death to their own consequence—that it would weaken their influence over the tribes, and attach them to the throne by the strongest ties. Thus the very means used to establish a compact and independent Government turned the most influential nobles into our inveterate, though concealed opponents, and prepared them to

join in any movement which held out the prospect of our expulsion from the country. Such an opportunity was apparently presented to them a little more than a twelvemonth after we had occupied Cabool.

Dost Mahomed, after his flight from the Capital, took refuge with the Wullee of Khooloom. From hence he was induced to proceed to Bokhara, where he was incarcerated. With the romantic incidents of his escape, which are fully detailed by Dr. Atkinson, we need not detain the reader. On the 27th of July, the Envoy received accounts of his escape from Bokhara, but as his family was now in our hands, and the Wullee of Khooloom, with whom his intrigues might be expected to commence, professed the most devoted attachment to the Shah, and had sent his prime minister and son to Cabool, little or no apprehension was at first entertained. But our embarrassments soon began to thicken, and even the Envoy admitted that the difficulties of his position were overwhelming. On the 7th of August, information was received that Khelat had been captured by the Beloochees, and the resources of that principality turned against us. The rebels in Bajore, a district in the immediate vicinity of the capital, had obtained some advantage over the Shah's troops and captured a gun. The Seikh Government was covertly but actively encouraging its feudatories at Peshawur to annoy us. So strongly was our danger from this quarter impressed on the mind of Sir W. Macnaghten, as to lead him to propose the most stringent measures in reference to the Punjab: "Dost Mahomed is at our threshold; we are surrounded by traitors on every side, and the Seikh Government is doing all in its power to effect our ruin. Nothing short of extracting the venom from the tooth of the Punjab snake can do us any good. There can be no doubt that the Seikhs intend to supply money to be used against us. If they can only pour a sufficiency of cash into the Kohistan, and raise the country between Peshawur and Cabool just at the time that Dost Mahomed makes his appearance, our situation will be sufficiently perilous." On the 21st of August, he writes, "that the Dost's appearance had caused considerable excitement; and that the state of affairs required all their vigilance." Indeed, the Dost was proved to be in active correspondence with the Seikh feudatories at Peshawur, who were our inveterate enemies.

On the 5th of September, intelligence reached Sir W. Macnaghten that the whole country between Cabool and the Oxus had risen in favour of the Dost; and that he was advancing on Bameean, to which post our troops had retired. The position of the Envoy may be conceived from his brief letter to Mr. Robertson. "My back is broken by eternal writing, and I have no

cessation from labour day or night. The crisis which I have long foreseen is arrived, and I trust there will no longer be any delay in dealing with the Seikhs." A week afterwards, he writes again, "affairs in this quarter have the worst possible appearance. The whole of the Kohistan is said to be ripe for revolt." But the most alarming intelligence which reached the Envoy was that an entire company of the Shah's newly raised levies, commanded by Captain Hopkins, had gone over to the enemy. Thus seemed to perish at once all the hopes he had formed of raising a national army for the support of the Shah's throne. It was a broken reed on which he had been leaning for support. "I have pointed out," says he at length, "that there is no such thing as an Affghan army—I have just had a note from Sir Willoughby Cotton, in which he observes, 'I really think the time is now arrived for you and I to tell Lord Auckland, *totidem verbis*, that circumstances have proved uncontestedly that there is no Affghan army, and that unless the Bengal troops are instantly strengthened we cannot hold the country.'" But the fears generated by the inauspicious approach of Dost Mahomed were checked for a time by the splendid victory gained over him at Bamcean by Brigadier Dennie on the 17th of September, in which that chief lost his tents, baggage, kettledrums, standard, and his only gun, which he originally carried with him in his flight; in short, everything but his resolution.

This defeat convinced the Wullee of Khoolum that Dost Mahomed's case was hopeless, and he resolved to save himself and his territory by a timely submission. The Dost was obliged to remove his forces to a distance; but our dangers were not thereby removed. Cabool was filled with traitors, ready to betray the city; and the Kohistan chiefs, not forty miles from the capital, were ready for a revolt. Dr. Atkinson relates that they were summoned to the capital, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths of fidelity to the Shah, and then proceeded to the house of one Hafiz-jee, a prime mover of sedition, and took equally solemn oaths to devote their lives and property to the Shah's destruction. This treachery was fully confirmed by their own letters, which were intercepted. A force was therefore sent into the Kohistan in October, under Sir Robert Sale, accompanied by Sir A. Burnes. The fort of Tootun-derra was destroyed. Joolgah was evacuated and then levelled with the ground. These results induced the principal chiefs in the lower Kohistan to send in hostages for their fidelity. A little later, the forts of Ba-boo-kooshkar and Kah-derra were captured, the one blown up, and the other burnt to the ground.

From the 17th of September, the day of Bamecan, to the 11th of October, we hear nothing of the movements of Dost Mahomed. On this latter day it was announced in Sir A. Burnes's camp that he had entered the valley of Ghorbund. The Shah's native commandant, on being summoned to surrender, fled, and communicated the contagion of his own fears far and wide. The intelligence reached Sir W. Macnaghten the next day, and his feelings on the occasion were thus expressed:—"It is impossible to say what may be the effect of his coming into this neighbourhood, but I apprehend very serious consequences, for both the town of Cabool and the country are ripe for revolt. I cannot ascertain how many men he has with him,—some accounts say 10,000, others 200;—the last is, I dare say, near the mark, but what I dread is the effect of his incessant intrigues, while he is so near us, upon the minds of the population. Our force is too weak to expel him from the position he has now taken up; and we have desired Brigadier Dennie to return to Cabool with the 35th and Garbett's troop of Horse Artillery, as soon as possible, for the capital is in a very weak and defenceless state. I shall write daily during the present crisis."

This force, however, *was* found sufficient. A Company of the Shah's Kohistanes was sent to Ghorbund, and created such a panic as to compel Dost Mahomed to leave the valley on the 13th with a few followers. He was pursued by another detachment, till he reached Nijrow, which had, for a twelvemonth, been the hotbed of sedition. Having re-united his forces to the extent of about four thousand foot and four hundred horse, he broke up from Nijrow on the 27th, and on the 28th encamped at Doornama. On the 29th, our troops, commanded by Sir Robert Sale, marched to meet him. He had been joined by two of the eastern chiefs. His approach to Cabool of course quickened the progress of intrigue, and Sir William Macnaghten began to forebode the worst consequences. "If he could only succeed in getting up an insurrection in the city (says he in a letter to Lord Auckland, written only four days before the Dost surrendered) I have little doubt that his two sons, who are at large in Zoormut, will be able to effect a rising in that and the adjacent districts; and that *we shall have to submit to the disgrace of being shut up in Cabool for a time.*" But on this occasion, there was no want of vigour to meet the emergency. Dr. Atkinson says, "every possible precaution had been taken to provide for the safety of the state at this perilous crisis. The guards over the citadel gates and magazines were farther increased; guns were mounted on the Bala Hissar so as to command the principal avenues and streets of the town." "If the town

does rise (writes Sir William) we shall be compelled to make a terrible example of it. We have placed guns in position so as to command it." And in a moment of irritation, he added, "No mercy should be shown to the man who is the author of all the evils that are now distracting the country, but should we be so fortunate as to secure the person of Dost Mahomed, I shall request his Majesty not to execute him till I can ascertain your Lordship's sentiments." A little after he adds: "His Majesty, in a conversation I had with him yesterday, after dwelling on the mistaken lenity he had, according to my advice, shown towards the adherents of Dost Mahomed, observed, 'I suppose if I were to catch the dog now, you would prevent me from hanging him.' I replied it would be time enough to talk about that after catching him."

Dost Mahomed moved on gradually towards the capital at the foot of the Hills, and had arrived at Purwan-durra. On the 2d November, 1840, our troops marched thirteen miles to that post and reached it at noon. They came upon the Dost and his army, and found the hills covered with the armed populace of Nijrow. As they advanced, the Dost endeavoured to move off, and two squadrons of the 2nd cavalry were ordered to intercept him. On approaching the enemy, and being ordered to charge, they turned round, and leaving their officers to their fate, galloped back under the impulse of fear or treachery. Three officers were killed on the spot, among whom were Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Broadfoot of the Engineers, two of the very ablest of our Afghanistan functionaries. Two other officers were wounded while performing prodigies of valour. In the confusion occasioned by this infamous conduct of the Cavalry, Dost Mahomed disappeared. This appeared to be the hour of our extremity. There was no other prospect before our officers but that of being reduced to a struggle for existence in the city of Cabool. It was expected that the Dost would fall back on Nijrow, and be enabled to make such use of our disaster at Purwan, as to bring down the whole force of the Kohistan upon the city. The mind of Sir Alexander Burnes presaged the direst calamities. He wrote from the field of our disgrace to Sir William, to beg that all the troops might be recalled, and concentrated at Cabool for its defence. This letter, calculated to confirm the gloomy anticipations of the Envoy, was delivered to him on the 3rd of November as he was taking his evening ride. After reading it, he was returning home in the greatest depression of mind, when Dost Mahomed suddenly presented himself, and on ascertaining that the Envoy was before him, dismounted and claimed his protection. The effect of this sudden apparition on the mind of the Envoy may

be more easily conceived than described. Feelings of the deepest anxiety were exchanged, as if by the power of enchantment, for those of the highest delight and exultation. Such an incident would appear extravagant even in romance; but how frequently, during our brief career in Afghanistan, did not the events of real life exceed in their romantic, and too often tragic interest, the boldest fictions of the imagination. All idea of retribution or revenge vanished from the mind of the Envoy, as he took the Dost's arm and walked up through his garden; and as the Dost, on entering the house, delivered up his sword with the remark that he had now no farther use for it, the animosity which had been excited by his opposition was forgotten in admiration of the confidence which he had manifested in our clemency, and the perfect self-possession which he exhibited in this moment of bewildering excitement. Seated in the palace, where, fifteen months before, his command had been law, his first inquiry was about his family. Immediately afterwards, he requested the aid of a moon-see, and with the utmost calmness and distinctness, dictated a letter to his son, Afzul Khan, then in Nijrow, and to his two sons, Azeem Khan and Sheer Ali Khan, who had made their escape from Ghuzni on the 23rd September, and were in arms in Zoomut, to announce his own surrender and safety, and the honourable reception he had met with.

The conduct of Sir W. Macnaghten to the Dost was marked by the kindest sympathy and attention. Two days after his arrival, the Envoy writes, "This morning I have passed a pleasant hour with the Dost: I went to see his tents where he is very comfortable. He gave me the whole account of his wanderings from the time of his flight at Arghunda. Whatever else he may be he is certainly a shrewd, clever fellow, and it is difficult to refrain from compassionating his fallen state." Soon after, he adds, "We are doing everything we can to soothe the ex-chief's feelings, and up to the evening of the 7th, our efforts appear to have been attended with success. On the evening of that day he had an interview with his mother, and when she left him he appeared in a state of considerable affliction and excitement. It appears that some one had told him —(and I have no doubt his mother, instigated by some mischievous people in the town, was his informant)—that it was our intention to send him to London." The Envoy begged him to set his mind at ease, for that he would not be sent farther than Loodianah, without his consent, and at Dost Mahomed's request gave him a writing to that effect. This promise seemed to give him satisfaction. Soon after, he was sent to India, and his farther connection with the subject of this me-

moir ceased, except that Sir William, when the question of his allowances came under discussion, urged the most generous arrangement. "I trust," says he, "that the Dost will be treated with liberality. His case has been compared to that of Shah Soojah; and I have seen it argued that he should not be treated more handsomely than his Majesty was; but surely the cases are not parallel. The Shah had no claim on us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim."

It must be apparent that the dangers which threatened our position in Afghanistan in the beginning of November 1840, when Dost Mahomed was in full march on the capital, were far greater than those which issued in our expulsion at the close of the following year. At the former period, the city of Cabool was in the highest state of excitement. The Kohistanes, though hating Dost Mahomed much, yet hating us more, had organised the most systematic opposition to our rule, and were ready, on the first gleam of success, to pour 10,000 or 15,000 warriors into Cabool. The Seikh cabinet was deep in intrigues against our authority in Afghanistan, and had not only given the most unequivocal support to the insurgents, but had actually sent supplies of money to Dost Mahomed. Two of his sons were abroad in the heart of the country, endeavouring to enlist the inhabitants in the cause of their father. Kelat had fallen away from us, Beloochistan was in arms, and our position in the south was perilous. Yar Mahomed Khan, whom Pottinger had justly described as the greatest scoundrel in Central Asia, in spite of all the benefits which we had conferred for two years on the government of Herat, was preparing to take advantage of Dost Mahomed's approach to march an army to Candahar. In every direction the horizon appeared dark and portentous. On the east, west, north, and south, our position in Afghanistan was menaced; and had the Dost, instead of surrendering himself to the Envoy, appeared in force before the city, and succeeded in creating an insurrection, the energies of the country would have been instantly concentrated for our destruction, and the disgrace of being shut up in the Bala Hissar, which the Envoy had begun to dread would have been consummated. There was nothing in our favour but the indomitable courage of the Envoy and his military associates, which steadily rose with the tide of difficulty, and the energetic measures which were so promptly taken to meet the emergency. A twelvemonth after, when a crisis of infinitely less difficulty surprised us, had the energy of Sir William been seconded with the same manliness and zeal by the military authorities, our army would have been saved from



annihilation. The surrender of Dost Mahomed gave us a year's respite. "It made the country," as Sir Alexander Burnes expressed it, "as quiet as Vesuvius after an irruption. How long this will last it is impossible to say."

Sir William Macnaghten had now, at the end of fifteen months, a little breathing time from political anxieties, and was enabled to turn his attention to the reform of the internal administration. "We have hitherto," says he, "been struggling for existence, without any leisure to turn to the improvement of the administration. . . . We have now, thank God, a little time to turn our attention to the affairs of the country, and his Majesty is well disposed to do his utmost to cleanse the Augean stable." While Dost Mahomed was rousing the tribes on the Oxus, Sir Alexander Burnes had sent the Envoy a long and important letter with his views on the state of the country, which he described to be in a very deplorable condition. The picture was perhaps over-wrought, for Sir Alexander was subject to great alterations of feeling; but there was unhappily too much truth in his representations of the wretchedness which the double Government had inflicted on the country. This system of administration corresponded with that which we have introduced into Oude, Hyderabad, and other states in India, and which, while we are writing these lines, has roused the people of Kholapore into an insurrection which one-fifth of the army of the Bombay Presidency has been required to repress. It places the powers of the administration in one hand; and the power of the sword—a sword wielded with irresistible might—in another. The native officials are relieved from that salutary dread of reaction which is the only check on official rapacity throughout the East, and are enabled to pursue their extortions with perfect impunity. When they have roused the people to rebellion, our troops are sent to quench it with their blood. Thus the presence of a British army in Afghanistan, which was of itself a sufficient cause of humiliation and irritation, was rendered still more intolerable by being associated in the minds of the people with the exactions of the Shah's officers. Instead of appearing in our proper character as the messengers of humanity, we were exhibited only as the ministers of vengeance on an insulted and plundered people. There was no remedy for this state of things except in making the province a British possession at once; but this was forbidden both by our views of policy and our promises.

The pressure of this system was perhaps felt the more severely, from the practice once so common in India, of paying the Shah's troops by assignments on the revenues of particular districts. The soldiers were thus the collectors; they proceeded to the

districts assigned for their support, and lived at free quarters till the peasant paid the assignment. Sir A. Burnes well observed, that "such a system must clearly alienate all the people of this country from Shah Soojah and from us, for the force we give him ensures what, if left to himself, he could not otherwise command." Oosman Khan, whom the Shaw was induced to appoint his vizier, seems to have acquired the confidence of the Envoy. "He purposes," says he, "to manage the revenue department so as to abolish the *burat* or assignment system, but I cannot as yet form any opinion as to the feasibility of the system." Within three weeks after, writing to a friend, he says,—“You are a little too sanguine, I think, in the hope of a speedy and universal reform of this country. For thirty years, the inhabitants of most of the districts have never paid a fraction of revenue until they were coerced into payment by the presence of troops. The habit has grown into second nature with them, and we cannot expect them to subside at once into cheerful tax-payers.” “The universal venality of the public officers and the authorized exactions of the former Governments are hardly credible, and it is wonderful that any portion of the inhabitants could have remained to endure them. As it is, half the country is depopulated; but, with a little management, I feel certain that the revenues of the country might be doubled in a few years.” During the year 1841 the attention of the Envoy was closely directed to the correction of abuses, as far as it lay in his power to influence the Shah's proceedings; but the basis of the administration was unsound, and to build any useful or secure superstructure upon it was impossible.

We are much tempted to enter upon the political movements at Herat, because they serve to illustrate Sir W. Macnaghten's views of the politics of Central Asia; but the great length to which this article has extended, and the necessity of husbanding the little remaining patience of the reader for the closing scene, which possesses so deep an interest, obliges us to pass over this episode in the Afghan tragedy with the remark, that the villainies of Yar Mahomed were consummated in March 1841, by the expulsion of our representative, Major Todd, just at the time when our differences with Persia had been finally adjusted by the cession of Ghorian; that this disappointment was so keenly felt by Lord Auckland as to induce him, in a moment of irritation, to remand the Major to his regiment—one of the very few harsh or hasty acts of that administration—and that the Envoy proposed to march an army to Herat, but was over-ruled from head-quarters by the advice, that “we should first learn to quiet and to control the positions we occupied, before we plunged onwards.”

We now come to the last scene in this tragic drama. In July 1841, the Envoy, in communication with General Elphinstone, proposed to Government that six corps, including H. M. 13th Light Infantry, should be relieved by six other regiments, because the country was unquiet in several directions, and particularly in Kohistan and Nijrow. Lord Auckland proposed to send one European and three Native Regiments, and to hold two others in readiness to proceed. To this the Envoy and General rejoined at a subsequent date, that the European regiments were particularly desirable, but that all the Native regiments would not be required under existing circumstances, as tranquillity had been restored—so the officers reported—in Zoormut, and the Western Ghilzies were peaceably disposed; the Khybercees were innoxious from internal feuds, and the insurrection at Candahar had been suppressed. They stated that though fewer troops would be required, a strong force for a time would be advisable, “to confirm the fickle people in the habit of obedience, which they were now for the first time beginning to manifest after half a century of anarchy.” At the same time, Sir A. Burnes wrote to his correspondents at this Presidency, that the country was so tranquil that the troops might safely be withdrawn.

In September 1840, Sir William Macnaghten had been nominated provisional member of the Council of India; and in September 1841, he received farther token of the approbation with which his conduct had been viewed in the highest quarters at home, by his appointment to the office of Governor of Bombay. He had thus attained the highest honours within the reach of any civil or military servant on the Indian establishment. If he had ambition for high place, it was amply satisfied. He now prepared to quit Afghanistan, and had fixed the early part of November for the period of his departure. Sir Alexander Burnes also expected to be relieved from that subordinate situation in which his mind had been chafed, and his feelings inflamed, and to succeed to the office about to be vacated. His largest wishes were on the eve of being gratified. On the 1st of October, he wrote, “Supreme at last—I fear, however, that I shall be confirmed as Resident, and not as Envoy, which is a bore; but as long as I have power and drive the coach, I do not much care. I hope I have prepared myself for the charge by hard study, and a knowledge of the country.” Alas, for the blindness of human foresight and the vanity of human wishes! Thirty-two days after this burst of exultation, he became the first victim of an emeute which ended in severing our connection with Afghanistan. And the very week in which Sir William Macnaghten was

making preparations for his departure, he was arrested by an insurrection, which terminated in his own assassination and the destruction of the entire army.

The expenses of our connection with Affghanistan had begun to tell fearfully on the resources of India. Not only had all the accumulation of its revenue been swallowed up, but Government had been constrained to anticipate the resources of posterity by contracting a heavy debt. Lord Auckland, therefore, felt it his duty to recommend a degree of economy to the Envoy, which, however, in the circumstances of our position was found to be little compatible with its safety. On the arrival of the Envoy at Candahar, in 1839, he had written to the Governor-General that "he must be prepared to look upon Affghanistan for some years as an outwork, yielding nothing, but requiring much expenditure to keep it in repair;"—and this expenditure now threatened to prove a lasting drain on the resources of India, for Affghanistan was found, at the end of two years, as incapable of paying the expenses of its occupation as when the Envoy wrote, "the history of the revenues of this poor country may be given in very few words. The whole is consumed in the pay of the priesthood, the soldiery, and the support of his Majesty's household." Among the measures of economy, which were now resorted to, was that of curtailing the stipends of the Ghilzie chiefs. On a former occasion, Sir Alexander Burnes had strongly objected to these payments, and recommended their being discontinued; but the Envoy defended them by saying "that they were nothing more nor less than a compensation to the chiefs for the privileges they had given up of plundering the high roads through their respective jurisdictions, and that we should be found in the end to have made a cheap bargain." The chiefs were now summoned to Cabool, and the reasons of state which rendered it necessary to reduce their stipends duly explained to them. They declared their entire satisfaction with the arrangement, left the Shah's presence with apparent content, and immediately blocked up the passes, and resumed the plunder of passengers. Troops were sent to re-open our communication with India, and met with resistance. The brigade under Sir Robert Sale, including Her Majesty's 13th and the 35th Native Infantry, which was returning by this route to our own provinces, had to run the gauntlet of all the passes between Cabool and Gundamuck, fighting every inch of their way. They cleared these defiles in triumph, but not without the loss of more than two hundred killed and wounded,—rather a dearer bargain than the 30,000 rs. which had been saved by irritating the Ghilzies. This was in the month of

October. The discontent was evidently local, and was expected to disappear when the cause had been removed by a new and amicable arrangement with the chiefs.

As the time approached for Sir William Maenaghten's departure, he received numerous congratulations from the public officers in various parts of the country, on his being so happy as to lay down his authority at a time of such unusual tranquillity. Major Rawlinson, writing from Candahar on the 25th of October, said, "Every thing is perfectly tranquil, and, for a wonder, there is nothing to write about." On the 29th of October, Captain Burn wrote from Gundamuck, "My last communication to you was dated the 16th instant, since which time all has been going on quietly in this district." So little did Major Pottinger apprehend danger, though Meer Musjedie and a body of Nijrowees had come into Kohistan, that he had hid his horses to ride into Cabool after breakfast, to take leave of the Envoy, and return the next morning. Colonel Palmer's letter from Ghuznie, of the 28th, stated that "all was quiet in his vicinity." On the 4th of October, Colonel Maclaren wrote from Candahar to congratulate Sir William Maenaghten on his appointment, and said that "it came at a particular time which would render it more acceptable to him, viz. when the whole of Afghanistan was *settled*, which I now say it is." On the very evening before the insurrection, and while the disaffected chiefs were assembled to plan it, and to massacre Sir Alexander Burnes, he went on a visit to the Envoy, and congratulated him on his approaching departure at a period of such profound tranquillity.

On the morning of the 2nd of November, intelligence was brought to Sir W. Maenaghten that the town of Cabool was in a state of commotion. Shortly after, he received a letter from Sir Alexander Burnes, stating that his house was besieged, and begging for assistance. He immediately went to General Elphinstone, who was mentally and physically debilitated by the gout, and suggested that Brigadier Shelton's force should proceed to the Bala Hissar, there to operate as might be expedient; that the remaining troops should be concentrated, the cantonments placed in a state of defence, and assistance sent, if possible, to Sir Alexander Burnes. Some time about 8 A.M. Capt. Trevor, who was living in the vicinity of Sir Alexander's residence in the city, conveyed to the Envoy a report, which had just reached him, that his house had been attacked, and that he had been wounded, and was lying in the town. Capt. Trevor added, "I hope it is all a lie, but I would earnestly recommend that the business be put an end to before night, at any risk. Khan Sherceen, and

Golam, and Shumseodeen's brother are here. The plot is a party one now, but our slackness in driving these fellows out of their houses may make it serious." Apparently two hours after, he wrote again to the Envoy, "Here is a note from Mackenzie. Poor Burnes, I fear, is missing. The enemy, to all appearance, are not now many; but if you leave them for a few hours longer, all Cabool may be up. They have already taken the Shor Bazar. Hear what the bearer says. I must remove Mrs. Trevor to-night. Never was so disgraceful a business." At mid-day he wrote again, "The firing seems to have ceased except from the Brigadier's fort, but I am still unable to learn what is doing in the town with any certainty. The plunder of Burnes's, and Mohm Lall's houses, and of Hay's property, is complete. The Hazirbash show much zeal; nevertheless, I enter entirely into the feelings of Bluebeard's wife, when she cried, Sister Anne! Sister Anne!"—But no one came. The panic had already begun; and the doom of the army was sealed. The King sent his own son with some Hindoostanee troops to put down the insurrection, but they were driven back. Immediately after this failure, Capt. Trevor sent information of the event to the officer commanding the Bala Hissar, and told him that the enemy, about *two hundred* strong, were still in possession of the houses, and their remaining so all night might have the worst consequences. He added, "The Vizier says that one regiment will be sufficient to dislodge them, and that round them the town is at present unoccupied." But the officer commanding the Bala Hissar sent no regiment: Col. Shelton hesitated to send his troops through the streets of the city. The insurgents were not dislodged.

"The Austrians," said Napoleon, on one occasion, "do not know the value of moments." On the 2d of November, we forgot the value not of moments only, but of hours. In his official despatch to Government, which Sir William Macnaughten wrote during the gloomy days of the siege, and left unfinished on his desk as he went out to the meeting at which he was assassinated, he thus alludes to the events of this day, the first and decisive day.—"Before Brigadier Shelton could reach the Bala Hissar, the town had attained such a state of ferment that it was deemed impracticable to send aid to Sir Alexander Burnes' residence, which was in the centre of the city." But every surviving officer concurs in the assertion, that if a single regiment had been led to the scene of commotion by mid-day, with the gallantry which had gained Col. Shelton such honourable distinction, the emence would never have been converted into a national insurrection.

It has been generally affirmed that this commotion was the result of a general conspiracy which had been formed throughout the country for our expulsion, by a simultaneous rising. But a careful examination of all evidence which can be obtained on the subject, inclines us to doubt the existence of any national concert, till our negligence and timidity created it. The insurrection did not break out at Chareekar, in Kohistan, till twenty-four hours after the insurgents had murdered Sir Alexander Burnes, plundered his house, and repulsed the first and only force sent against them. Doubtless, with the insurgent Meer Musjedie in the district, inflaming the religious passions of the people, they were fully prepared for revolt; but the insurrection took no decisive form till after intelligence had arrived of our supineness and indecision at Cabool. It was eighteen days before the spirit of revolt reached Ghuznie. Lieut. Crawford says, "the enemy and the snow made their appearance together: on the 20th November the town of Ghuznie was surrounded with the one, and the ground covered with the other." The attack on Pesh Bolak was not made before the 13th November, and the Khyber Pass was open till January. The fact that twenty-four hours after the insurrection at Cabool broke out, the 37th Native Infantry, encumbered with guns and baggage, returned to the city without the loss of a single article, and with only three men killed, and about a dozen wounded, through the terrific defiles of the Khoord Cabool Pass, where a hundred resolute men might almost have annihilated it, demonstrates that the movement was not general, and that the Eastern Ghilzies were not in concert with the Caboolces. The emente was not extensive even in Cabool. As soon as the commotion was known, a considerable number of those chiefs who subsequently joined the ranks of the enemy, Osman Khan, Abdool Ruhim Khan, Khan Shereen Khan, Tej Mahomed and Golan Moyenooddeen, went to Capt. Trevor to lend him their assistance in the support of our authority; and it was not till they saw that our cause had become desperate from our own faint-heartedness, that they abandoned it. The very man, the Nawaub Jubber Khan, who sent one of his younger children to Capt. Trevor at this time, and desired that he might be detained as a hostage—thus siding with us at the last moment, when it appeared safe to do so—consented to be set up as King a few days after. The insurrection was unquestionably local till our culpable inactivity made it national. Cabool was at all times filled with the elements of rebellion: it was ever a smothered volcano. "From the earliest period of my arrival in this country," says Sir William Macnaghten, "I have always considered a rebellion

as a probable event at any time, and that much dissatisfaction prevailed among the chiefs, but I had no more reason to expect the outbreak at the particular period of its occurrence, than at any other. Still less could I foresee the concurrence of the calamitous circumstances, which paralyzed our power and rendered the rebellion triumphant." It was our own misconduct which led to our ruin at Cabool, and the same misconduct, the same panic and irresolution at a moment of danger, would be sufficient to cause the loss of the whole empire of India."

From the first hour of the outbreak a kind of fatality seemed to pervade every resolution and every movement. An universal paralysis prostrated the faculties of our officers, and those who, in other circumstances, had earned the highest military renown, exhibited the most lamentable absence of every military virtue. Yielding at once to the pressure of circumstances which they ought manfully to have resisted, and which nothing but their own want of determination rendered desperate, all wisdom and moral courage seemed to have forsaken them. Unfortunately, General Elphinstone, as the Envoy described him, "was in such a state of health as to be almost incapacitated for any exertion, mental or bodily," and there was no master spirit in his suite or his confidence to control his weakness, or supply him with wisdom and boldness equal to the crisis. On the 5th of November, Major Pottinger's letter reporting the siege of Chareekar, and the desperate state of affairs, reached the Envoy, and was immediately sent to General Elphinstone. His reply must have revealed to Sir William Macnaghten the fearful extent of his danger, while all military movements continued under such direction. "This is most distressing. Can nothing be done by the promise of a large reward, a lakh for instance, if necessary, of rupees to any of the Kohistan chiefs, to bring them off, though I fear the three days will have expired?" Indeed, it would appear as if on the fourth, if not on the third, day after the outbreak, the General proposed to the Envoy to open negotiations. In a letter of the 6th of November, he said, "Do not suppose from this that I wish to recommend, or am advocating humiliating terms, or such as would reflect disgrace on us; but this fact that our ammunition runs short must not be lost sight of. Our case is not yet desperate: I do not mean to impress that; but it must be borne in mind that it goes very fast." It was doubtless in consequence of this display of weakness in a quarter where the most heroic councils and efforts were required, that, while the Envoy urged the most energetic military movements, he did not neglect to conciliate, by pecuniary offers, the chiefs who still continued to manifest a degree of friendly feeling towards our



cause. Hence, on the 7th of November, he authorized Mohun Lall to assure Khan Shereen Khan, that he should receive one lakh of rupees, and Mahomed Kunuye, half a lakh, if they would perform the business they had undertaken,—which appears to have referred to supplies of provisions. With the view of dividing his enemies, he also offered Mahomed Yar Khan, the rival of Ameenoola, the chieftainship of Logur; and authorized Mohun Lall to give promises in his name to the extent of five lakhs of rupees.

We need not dwell on the sad catalogue of disasters which overwhelmed our troops during the month of November. They have already become too familiar to the public ear from the volumes of Lady Sale and Captain Eyre. We shall therefore limit our few remaining remarks to the events in which the bearing of the Envoy at this emergency is developed, and his character exemplified. On the 7th of November, letters were received from Sir Robert Sale at Jelallabad, which destroyed every hope of his being able to advance to the relief of Cabool. The Envoy immediately wrote to General Elphinstone to this effect:—

“We have scarcely a hope of reinforcement from Sale's brigade. I would recommend that we hold on here as long as possible, and throughout the winter, if we can sustain our troops by any means, by making the Mahomedans and Christians live chiefly on flesh, and other contrivances. There are here the essentials of wood and water in abundance, and I believe our position is impregnable. A retreat in the direction of Jelallabad would be most disastrous, and should be avoided, except in the last extremity. We shall be better able to see, eight or ten days hence, whether that extremity must be resorted to: in that case, we have to sacrifice the valuable property of Government; we should have to sacrifice his Majesty, who would not come without his family; and, were we to make good our retreat to Jelallabad, we should find no shelter for our troops (the cantonments being destroyed), and perhaps no provisions. I fear, too, that in such a retreat very few of our camp-followers would survive. I have frequently thought of negotiation, or rather capitulation, for such it would be; but, in the present unsettled state of affairs, there is no authority possessing sufficient weight to protect us all through the passes. Besides, we should hardly be justified, for the security of our persons and property, to abandon for ever our position in this country.”

But no efforts were made by the infatuated garrison to husband their resources. On the contrary, the Envoy was overwhelmed by the military authorities with the most distressing complaints of “the state of the troops and cattle, and the want of provisions, and was repeatedly apprized of the hopelessness of further resistance.” But he still continued averse to negotiations, and at an interview with General Elphinstone “impressed on him in the most serious manner the great danger and difficulty to be apprehended in resorting to negotiations with the enemy, and explained to him that by such measures our Indian possessions would be shaken to the foun-

dation, and our moral influence, throughout Central Asia, lost." General Elphinstone objected to the proposal of concentrating our force in the Bala Hissar, and declared to retreat impracticable, giving it as his opinion, that the only course left was to enter into negotiations with the enemy, and secure as honourable terms as could be obtained. On the 24th of November, therefore, after the fatal day of Beymaroo, when the troops had lost all confidence in themselves or their leaders, and had given way to despair, the Envoy wrote officially to the General to inquire, "whether in a military point of view he thought it any longer feasible to maintain our position in the country, as he might possibly be able, if the reply was in the negative, to enter into some arrangement with the *de facto* ruler of the country, which would secure the safe return of our troops to India." The General replied: "I beg to state, that after having held our position here for upwards of three weeks, in a state of siege, from the want of provisions, and forage, the reduced state of our troops, the large number of sick and wounded, the difficulty of defending the extensive and ill-situated cantonment we occupy, the near approach of winter, our communications cut off, no prospect of relief or reinforcement, and the whole country in arms against us—I am of opinion that it is not feasible any longer to maintain our position in this country, and that you ought to avail yourself of the offer to negotiate which has been made to you." At the invitation of the Envoy, therefore, as he says in his own unfinished despatch, "deputies were sent from the rebels, who came into cantonment on the 25th ultimo. I proposed to them the only terms which, in my opinion, could be accepted with honour; but the temper of the rebels may best be understood when I mention that they returned me a letter of defiance, the next morning, to the effect, that unless I consented to surrender our arms, and abandon his Majesty to his fate, I must prepare for immediate hostilities. To this I replied, that we preferred death to dishonour; and that it would remain with a higher power to decide between us."

On the 5th of December, the enemy completed, says Captain Eyre, the destruction of the bridge, which no efforts had been made to preserve. That same day, the General wrote to inform the Envoy that the stock of provisions was now reduced to nine days, half rations; that his objections to retreat to the Bala Hissar were as great as ever, as the wants there would be the same as in the cantonments, with the additional one of fuel; that retreat without terms was almost impossible; that few would reach Jelallabad, and that the only alternative was to try if terms could be made in any other quarter than with the Gihil-

zies. "..... When reduced to the last extremity (which we now are almost), I think honourable terms better for our Government, than our being destroyed here, which, without food, is inevitable." The reply of the Envoy breathes a spirit of lofty resolution: "I am perfectly aware of the state of our supplies; but as we have nine days' provisions, and had only provisions for one or two days when the siege commenced, I conceive that we are better off now than we were a month ago. Wherever we go, we could not carry more than two or three days' supplies, and *therefore* it does not seem necessary to come to an immediate decision; but I will speak to you to-morrow, and will omit no favourable opportunity of negotiating." The following day he wrote a long letter to the General on the subject, and as it was his last communication before the inauspicious negotiations commenced, we are sure it will be perused with interest.

"There are three courses which may be said to be open to us. First, a retreat on Jelallabad without terms. Secondly, a retreat to India, with terms, abandoning our position in this country. And thirdly, to retire into the Bala Hissar. The first I regard as impracticable; and if practicable, the adoption of such a measure would cover us with everlasting infamy, as we could not take the King's family along with us, and his Majesty could not stir without them. The second I regard as nearly equally impracticable, from the conflicting interests of the parties with whom we should have to treat. This course would, I think, render any promised protection ineffectual; and, if this course could be safely adopted, the consequences would be terrific, as regards the safety of our Indian empire and our interests in Europe. The third course seems to me (though certainly attended with risk) to be by far the most safe and honourable which we can adopt. With four or five disposable regiments in the Bala Hissar, it would be strange if we could not obtain fuel and provisions: we should be in a position to overawe the city, and encourage the Kuzzilbashes and our other well-wishers to come forward to our support; and we should probably find in the Bala Hissar provisions for a fortnight or a month. I would therefore *lose* no time in sending every night, by all possible contrivances, our stores, and sick and wounded. Should the report of the advance of troops from Candahar prove correct (which we shall in all probability hear to-morrow), all our troubles will cease. Should we have reason to believe it unfounded, we can then commence destroying our powder and superfluous stores. In the mean time, I think we have daily proofs that the forces of our enemies are diminishing; and with the blessing of Providence, some event may arise from their misunderstandings to relieve us from our present perilous position, *even without* the accession of fresh troops."

The same day on which this letter was written, the situation of the besieged was rendered, if possible, still more deplorable by the glaring misconduct of the men of her Majesty's 44th. A company had been sent to relieve Mahommed Sherceef's fort, but was seized with a panic, and fled over the walls, thus abandoning the post to the enemy. The bazar village was at this time garrisoned by a party of that regiment, who, observing the flight of their comrades, were upon the point of quitting their

post, when they were observed and stopped by some officers. Three Companies of the 37th Native Infantry were therefore ordered to the guard bazar. General Elphinstone, on this occasion, wrote to the Envoy :—" Shelton wishes a support of the 44th outside. If they have any sense of shame left, they must do better, and their officers *must exert* themselves. Shelton is disposed to attribute the blame to the sepoy ; from all I hear, I fear unjustly ; but this must be inquired into, when we have time." Misfortunes now crowded on this hapless army. On the 8th of December, it was discovered that the Affghans had mixed so much dirt in the grain they had sold at exorbitant prices, that the quantity in store supposed to be equal to six days' consumption, turned out only to be equal to that of four. " Under these circumstances," says the General, " it becomes absolutely necessary for us to come to a decision as to future measures." On receiving this letter, the Envoy wrote officially to him to inquire whether, in his opinion, any farther attempt to hold out against the enemy would merely have the effect of sacrificing both his Majesty and the British army, and whether the only alternative left us was to negotiate for our safe retreat out of the country on the most favourable terms. Still clinging to the hope of being enabled to hold out, he adds : " It must be remembered that we have rumours of the approach of reinforcements from Candahar, though nothing in an authentic shape has reached us." The reply is given in Captain Eyre's work. It was signed by the General and Brigadiers Shelton and Anquetil. It described the deplorable state of the garrison and the impossibility of procuring supplies, and concluded with repeating the opinion that the Envoy should lose no time in entering into negotiations.

Meanwhile, Sir W. Macnaghten redoubled his efforts to obtain provisions. On the 9th he sent Mohun Lall 10,000 Rupees and promised 30,000 the next night. He authorized him to promise Humzeh, the Ghlizic chieftain, a present of Rs. 30,000 and the perpetual friendship of Government, if he would throw in a month's or a fortnight's provisions in three days. He added at the foot of the letter—" The 60th, 64th, and 30th Native Infantry Regiments left Ferozepore on the 19th ultimo, and must be at Peshawur by this time. Pray try by all means in your power to get us grain and boosa at any price to-morrow or next day." The unfortunate Envoy, when thus fondly dwelling on the expected arrival of relief from India, could not know that the Army of Cabool was doomed to destruction by the same contemptible imbecility on the eastern, as on the western side of the Indus. He did not know that the relieving brigade, instead of being sent forward under the command of the most energeti

soldier the Commander-in-Chief could discover, was entrusted to one of whom he himself said that *he hoped to infuse* a little energy into him! He did not know that days were squandered, when every moment was invaluable; that the field pieces, which were to have accompanied the brigade, were ordered back; and that it was destined to reach Peshawur,—without the means of forcing the passes—when the destruction of the Cabool force had been completed. Had these four regiments been pushed on, as some Generals would have urged them on, lightly but adequately equipped, they might have dashed through the Khyber, then comparatively open, and reached Jelallabad in time to alter the face of things at Cabool. The total want of energy by which this golden opportunity of saving, not perhaps the whole, but certainly a large portion of the army, was lost, we bequeath to the contempt of posterity. On the 10th of December the Envoy learned to his dismay that the troops which were advancing to his relief from Candahar, had been stopped by the snow and obliged to retrace their steps. There was therefore no alternative left but to re-open the negotiations with the Chiefs, under circumstances of deeper humiliation, and with scarcely any prospect but that of being deceived and destroyed. To these negotiations, which he had postponed to the last moment, until there was but a single day's provisions left, he was driven against his will and his better judgment, with the forlorn hope of saving an army of 5,000 men, who were dying of cold and starvation, while the country around them was filled with fuel, and amply stored with provisions.

The Chiefs met the Envoy on the 11th, and the terms of the agreement were, as related by Captain Melville, that the British troops should evacuate Afghanistan, and be permitted to return unmolested to India; that supplies of every description should be furnished to any extent required; that certain men of consequence should accompany them as hostages; that Dost Mahomed and his family should be given up, and Shah Soojah retire to Loodhiana; and that means of transport for the conveyance of our baggage stores should be furnished. The Chiefs received Captain Trevor as a hostage. On the 13th, we began to perform our part of the engagement by evacuating the Bala Hissar. On the 16th, the Chiefs declared that no provisions should be supplied except on the surrender of four forts which completely commanded the cantonments. They were most unwillingly surrendered, and provisions for a single day were sent in to the famished garrison. On the 18th of December, snow fell for the first time, and to the depth of five inches, and thus a new enemy entered on the scene; and then the demands of the Chiefs rose. On the 19th, the Envoy wrote an order for the

evacuation of Ghuzni. On the 20th, the Chiefs demanded that all our spare guns and ammunition should be given up as a proof of our sincerity, but the Envoy refused to listen to the proposal. On the 21st, their demand for four hostages was complied with. On the 22d, an officer from Zeman Shah was conducted to the magazine to make choice of such articles as were likely to be acceptable to the Chiefs. That night, Capt. Skinner, who had been living under Akbar Khan's protection, was sent by him with two natives to make a flattering proposal to the Envoy, which is thus described by Captain Mackenzie.

"Mahomed Sudeeq disclosed Mahomed Ukhbar's proposition to the Envoy, which was, that the following day Sir William should meet him (Mahomed Ukhbar) and a few of his immediate friends, viz., the chiefs of the Eastern Ghilzies, outside the cantonments, when a final agreement should be made, so as to be fully understood by both parties; that Sir William should have a considerable body of troops in readiness, which, on a given signal, were to join with those of Mahomed Ukhbar and the Ghilzies, assault and take Mahomed Khan's fort, and secure the person of Ameenuollah. At this stage of the proposition Mahomed Sudeeq signified that, for a certain sum of money, the head of Ameenuollah should be presented to the Envoy; but from this Sir William shrunk with abhorrence, declaring that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood. Mahomed Sudeeq then went on to say that, after having subdued the rest of the Khans, the English should be permitted to remain in the country eight months longer, so as to save their purdah (veil or credit), but that they were then to evacuate Afghanistan, as if of their own accord; that Shah Soojah was to continue king of the country, and that Mahomed Ukhbar was to be his wuzeer. As a further reward for his (Mahomed Ukhbar's) assistance, the British Government were to pay him thirty lacs of rupees, and four lacs of rupees per annum during his life."

The Envoy received this proposal late at night, and thinking that it afforded some distant hope of the salvation of the troops, agreed to it, and affixed his signature to the Persian document in which it was written; and to the moment of his departure the next day, a little before noon, communicated the negotiation to none but the General, who promised to have the troops in readiness. But he subsequently repented of his acquiescence, and wrote a note to the Envoy which he never received. "I hope," said the General, "there is no fear of treachery. The sending two guns and two regiments away would divide our force, and our sole dependence is in the union of our force. The cantonment I find is at present full of Affghans. All this we must think of, and act for the best. What guarantee have we for the truth of all that has been said? I only mention this to make you cautious as to sending away any part of our force. Perhaps it is unnecessary with you who know these people so well. I will be prepared to turn out, if necessary, by having the men ready to man the ramparts." After breakfast on the 23d, the Envoy summoned Capts. Trevor, Lawrence, and Mackenzie to accompany him to the meet-

ing, and for the first time disclosed to them the nature of the transaction. Captain Mackenzie warned him that it was a plot against him. He replied, "A plot! let me alone for that; trust me for that." The anticipations of his escort, however, were too true. The scheme was one of the deepest treachery on the part of Amcenollah and Uklbar Khan, and their object was to seize the Envoy. After the conference had begun, on a given signal Uklbar Khan endeavoured to seize Sir William, and meeting resistance, shot him dead with the pistols which he had a day or two before received as a present from him.

The sequel of this tragedy we give in the indignant language of Captain Eyre:—

"But what were our troops about all this time? Were no steps taken to rescue the Envoy and his friends from their perilous position? Where was the body-guard which followed them from cantonments? This question will naturally occur to all who read the foregoing pages, and I wish it were in my power to render satisfactory answers. The body-guard had only got a few hundred yards from the gate in their progress to the scene of conference, when they suddenly faced about and came galloping back, several shots being fired at them in their retreat. Lieut. LeGeyt, in passing through the gate, exclaimed that the Envoy had been carried off; and it was believed that, finding his men would not advance to the rescue, he came back for assistance. But the intelligence he brought, instead of rousing our leaders to instant action, seemed to paralyze their faculties; and although it was evident that our Envoy had been basely entrapped, if not actually murdered, before our very gates, and though even now crowds of Affghans, horse and foot, were seen passing and repassing to and fro in hostile array between Mahomed's fort and the place of meeting, not a gun was opened upon them; not a soldier was stirred from his post, no sortie was apparently even thought of; treachery was allowed to triumph in open day; the murder of a British Envoy was perpetrated in the face and within musket-shot of a British army, and not only was no effort made to avenge the dastardly deed, but the body was left lying on the plain to be mangled and insulted, and finally carried off to be paraded in the public market by a ruffianly mob of fanatical barbarians."

Thus perished by the hand of an assassin, at the age of forty-eight, one of the most distinguished servants of the Indian Government, just as he had raised himself by his own merits to the highest honours of the administration. Those who have followed us through this brief narrative of his public career, will not fail to perceive that in him the highest philological attainments were combined with a clear judgment on political questions, an insight into men and things, and the firmest resolution. In the novel and anomalous position in which he was placed in Affghanistan, his conduct was marked by sagacity and prudence; and although he may sometimes have adopted conclusions, and advised measures, which an uninterested spectator might be disposed to censure, yet every emergency that arose only served to show the extent of his resources and his courage; and there is little reason to doubt, that if at the last

crisis he had been entrusted with the supreme direction of military movements, the final catastrophe would not have occurred. One error in his policy has not escaped public animadversion; the choice of a site for the cantonments. The natural and obvious position for our garrison was the Bala Hissar, but the Envoy's tenderness and respect for the feelings of the Shah induced him to relinquish the pre-eminent advantages of that situation, and to fix on a spot which it requires little knowledge of military science to condemn. To this great error, it has been the fashion to ascribe the tragedy of Cabool. But when, before this time, did a body of 5,000 British troops with arms in their hands, and ammunition in their magazine, complain of the defects of their cantonments, when opposed to so contemptible a soldiery as that of Cabool, who never once ventured to assault their position, and among whom the leading men never ventured to show themselves in the field? While one British army thus allowed itself to be bearded at Cabool by a rabble without any recognized leader, or indeed any man possessed of military knowledge, in a position impregnable in respect to such opponents, another British army, feebler in numbers but firmer in resolution, took up a position within the dilapidated defences of Jelallabad, and set themselves vigorously to repair them, while they boldly repulsed every attack of the enemy, and like the Jews under Nehemiah, so to speak, "wrought in the work with one of their hands and with the other held a weapon." But even if the errors of Sir William Macnaghten's policy had been far greater than they were, his character is nobly redeemed by the judgment and heroism displayed in the last crisis, when the imbecility of the military authorities threw on him the responsibility of providing for the safety of the army. And it cannot be better described than in the language of one of the most acrimonious opponents of the Affghan expedition, whose work, though marked by great power of argument, and often by much justice of sentiment, is still that of a thorough partizan. Mr. Lushington says:—"Having elsewhere freely expressed our opinion of the conduct of the chief planner of the Affghan war, we are the more anxious to do justice to his demeanour through the greater part of the struggle in which he perished. Lieut. Eyre's account shows him in a most respectable light; the spring of every exertion made by the force; the suggester of every plan; the brave adopter of a responsibility from which the military leaders shrank, and which his foresight uniformly vindicated by the favourable results of his suggestions. He consented to treat only when forced to it; he rejected the offer of unworthy terms with becoming spirit; and his conduct throughout would have entitled him to no mean place among that order of men whose high qualities rise higher



against adversity but for one lamentable and final exception." --With an examination of the 'lamentable and final exception' we close this article. It refers of course to Sir William Macnaghten's acquiescence in the proposals made to him by Mahomed Ukhbar Khan on the evening before his assassination, and the breach of faith which it is supposed to involve. This transaction has given birth to a wide diversity of opinion; by some it has been stigmatized as detestable treachery; by others it has been considered as fully justified by the circumstances of the case. We live too near these events, and are perhaps too much under the influence of the feelings with which we have been accustomed to judge of the expedition itself, to form a dispassionate judgment of this particular and important event in it. It is too early to expect anything that can be likened to the decision of the historical judge; and we must all be content to be considered as advocates, either on one side or the other of the question. For our parts, after the most earnest and conscientious examination of all the evidence we can find, we are strongly disposed to exonerate the Envoy from all censure, and on the following considerations:—Every engagement with mutual obligations must be binding on both parties, or on either. If one party intentionally neglects to fulfil his share of the engagement, it becomes null and void, and ceases to be obligatory on the opposite party. The stipulations of the treaty which the Envoy entered into with the Chiefs were, on our part, that the army of Cabool should return to India immediately, and that we should evacuate Afghanistan; on the part of the Chiefs that "immediate supplies and carriage cattle should be furnished to the troops to any extent required." Our part of these stipulations was fulfilled with the most scrupulous good faith; we evacuated the Bala Hissar, and made every arrangement for our departure. But the Afghan Chiefs never observed a single article of the treaty. Instead of sending in supplies equal to the wants of the starving garrison, they sent only enough for a single day: and on the fifth day after the agreement, openly set it aside, by declaring their resolution to send in no further supplies until four forts, which commanded the cantonments, were surrendered to them. The treaty was, therefore, clearly at an end. But, as if to show that no promise would be kept with their humbled foes, and that all their engagements were made only to be broken, they took possession of the forts, but continued to neglect the wants of the garrison. There was, therefore, no obligation on the Envoy to risk the safety of the army simply in compliance with an engagement intended to be mutual, but which had been so flagrantly violated.

It was not the honour of the Envoy, or the character of his

government, which was at stake in this instance, but the lives of twelve thousand men; and this ought to have been, and was, the one paramount consideration with him—the cynosure by which he steered his course. It was to save the lives of this large body of men that he had agreed to the humiliating terms of the treaty, and he was fully justified in regarding the treaty as waste paper, when it had been violated by the chiefs in such a manner as to render it, if observed, the means of destroying, instead of saving the troops. There was, in fact, no treaty; but a constant negotiation was carried on with the Chiefs, individually and collectively, by the Envoy, who was endeavouring to make the best terms in his power for an army which looked to him for safety. Though he had agreed with one part of the Chiefs to depart on Friday, having scarcely any provisions left, yet he was at the time engaged in a separate bargain with Khan Shereen Khan, and Humzeh, the Ghilzie, two of the Chiefs who were present at the first meeting; and this bargain was carried on to the very last day. He told them plainly that if the Kuzzilbashes and the Ghilzies were anxious for our army to remain, and would declare themselves openly in our favour, he would send to the Barukzies and declare his agreement with them at an end. From the time when the treaty was violated by the new demands of the Chiefs and the refusal of supplies, he considered himself at liberty to make any arrangement with any party which might most effectually relieve the army. It was not three days before the catastrophe that he offered Khan Shereen five lakhs of rupees, and the Ghilzie chief the same sum, if they would side with us and send in provisions. In these circumstances, while he was looking round with the deepest anxiety for some happy turn in affairs, late in the evening of the 22nd, Ukhbar Khan sent a flattering offer to separate himself from the rest of the chiefs, and to allow the English to remain eight months longer in Affghanistan, so as to save their credit, on condition that Shah Soojah should be King of the country, and Mahomed Ukhbar Khan his vizier; and that the British Government should pay him thirty lakhs of rupees, and four lakhs of rupees a year. Sir William eagerly grasped at a proposal which offered the smallest chance of salvation to the army. We must confess that we can see nothing in the nature or obligation of the negotiations which were then pending with the other chiefs, who were urging his departure, while they denied him provisions and cattle, which could give the least colour of moral turpitude to his acceptance of an offer which promised him the preservation of the army. There can be little doubt that if this negotiation had been instrumental in

extricating that army from its perils, we should never have heard a whisper of treachery.

The only portion of this engagement which appears to us in any measure questionable, on the score of morality, is that which refers to Ameenoolah. Mr. Lushington animadverts on it in the severest language. "To acquiesce in the continuance of a treaty,"—there was no treaty at all obligatory; the chiefs had even refused to sign it, and their whole conduct was a palpable violation of it—"and to plot the seizure of men who were relying on its faith, under pretext of peaceful conference, was an act of detestable treachery which, up to that time, the Affghans had done nothing to parallel." In this short sentence there are three discrepancies of fact which materially affect the character of the transaction. Sir W. Macnaghten did not plot the seizure; it was one among the various proposals of Ukhbar Khan, to which he gave his assent. Neither was there more than one individual, the infamous Ameenoolah, to whom the proposal applied. Nor was even this man to be inveigled to a peaceful conference, on the faith of a treaty, and there treacherously arrested. The conference included only Ukhbar Khan and the Eastern Ghilzie chiefs, with one of whom the Envoy long had been engaged in a separate negotiation, and most of whom were supposed to be favourable to our interests. Ameenoolah was not expected to be present at the conference, which had apparently for its object the recognition of these terms by the Envoy, in the presence of Ukhbar Khan and the Ghilzies; after which their troops were to be united with ours, to assault and take Mahomed Shah's fort, and there to secure Ameenoolah. This man, the most active and inveterate of all our opponents, owed everything to the kindness of Sir William Macnaghten, who, after the specimen of ingratitude and treason which he had exhibited, determined to make an example of him. This fact was apparently well known to Ukhbar Khan, when he baited the hook with a proposal which he knew would be agreeable to the Envoy. We can find no evidence that Ameenoolah ever attended any of the meetings of the Chiefs, or was a party to any treaty or agreement, or that Sir William ever held any intercourse with him during the insurrection. Indeed, in the whole course of the negotiations we find his name mentioned but once, which was when the Chiefs violated the treaty by demanding the surrender of the forts. On that occasion, he is said to have joined Osman Khan in making this request. We leave it, therefore, to the future historian to pronounce on the degree of culpability involved in the Envoy's acceding to the proposal made by Ukhbar Khan, that he and the Ghilzie Chiefs

should unite their troops with our own to assault and take the fort, and there capture this arch enemy of the British cause.

It only remains to deal with the atrocious charge brought against Sir William Macnaghten of having encouraged the assassination of his opponents; and it is easily disposed of. Capt. Mackenzie bears witness that when, at the fatal conference on the evening of the 22d December, Mahomed Sudeeq signified that for a certain sum of money the head of Ameenollah should be presented to the Envoy, Sir William Macnaghten shrunk back with abhorrence, declaring that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood. But we have other evidence, equally decisive, under the Envoy's own signature. Although he had on previous occasions written to Mohun Lall to encourage the rival of Ameenollah, by all possible means, and assured him that he would execute 'the scoundrel if he could catch him;' and that he would give a reward of 10,000 rupees for his apprehension and that of some others; yet when the Moonshee wrote to the Envoy under the impression that he wished the man to be taken off privately, Sir William Macnaghten immediately replied, on the 1st of December: "I am sorry to find from your letter of last night that you should have supposed it was ever my object to encourage assassination. The rebels are very wicked men, but we must not take unlawful means to destroy them."

It was no little relief to the feelings of Sir William Macnaghten's relatives and friends, that his remains were not abandoned in the country in which he had been so treacherously massacred. They were rescued from the pit to which the barbarous Afghans had consigned them, by the affectionate solicitude of his widow, and brought down to the Presidency. Those public honours by which the interment of men of high official rank is distinguished were denied to one who at the period of his death had been raised to the third station in this empire, because he perished in an unfortunate and unsuccessful enterprise. But the absence of all official distinction at his funeral was more than compensated by the universal respect paid to his memory. His was a public funeral in a higher and more gratifying sense than if it had been marked by the presence of troops and the boom of artillery. His remains were accompanied to their final resting place by the whole body of the community, and interred amidst the sympathies of the metropolis. A large public subscription was immediately made for the erection of a monument over his grave,—and we have the melancholy consolation of remembering that, though assassinated in a distant land, he still sleeps in the city where his early honours were acquired, and where he laid the foundation of so many lasting friendships.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

### *Discourses read at the Meetings of the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society—Calcutta, 1844.*

THIS is, in many respects, a remarkable volume—remarkable, not so much on account of any intrinsic merits which it possesses, though these are by no means despicable, as on account of the definite sign-post which it furnishes, to indicate the nature of the *transitional* process now going forward in the minds of the educated portion of the Hindu Community. Broadly, and in a general way, it may be asserted that there are two great religious systems prevalent in this land—the system of the ignorant and the system of the learned; the former, a huge chaotic congeries of polytheistic and idolatrous fables, legends, and absurdities; the latter, a professed scheme of pure monotheism, but really and truly, of physical or metaphysical Pantheism. Now, such being the state of things, it was distinctly foreseen that the vigorous introduction of the rational Literature, Science, and Philosophy of the West would alone be sufficient to discredit and demolish the gigantic system of polytheism and idolatry; while they could not fail essentially to affect or modify the system of Pantheism, whether in its grosser or more ideal forms. Such, accordingly, has been the realized event. Numbers have had their eyes opened to discern, and in theory to repudiate the abominations of idolatry. In the absence of an adequate substitute, in the form of a better faith, they either wildly disclaim all belief in any religion, natural or revealed, or they fall back on the professed Theism of the Vedas—the oldest and most venerated of their sacred writings. This professed theism, as unfolded in the oldest standards of the Vedant, is, beyond all debate, a system of gross Pantheism. By subsequent authorities, it was sublimated into a system of idealism, or spiritual Pantheism. Under either of these forms, however, it contains much that must be grating to the judgment and the feelings of those who have been habituated to the purer philosophy of the West; while it wants much which an acquaintance with European learning must always teach its disciples to be essential to a reasonable system of Theology. The Brahma, or Supreme God of Vedantism, for example, has, in no intelligible sense, any moral attributes. Those who read any standard English works on Natural Theology, must soon note this glaring deficiency. Instead, however, of being led, from the existence of this and similar marked imperfections, to reject the entire system as spurious, they simply cease to view it as an *authoritative revelation* from God, and begin to treat it merely as a scheme of human philosophy, which may be cut and carved, shaped, and fashioned, added to or subtracted from, according to the whims, fancies, or caprices of successive operators. The new-fangled scheme, however, still passes under the name of Vedantism; as if it were a faithful transcript and

republishation of the ancient Vedantism or that of the original Hindu Standards !

Truly hath the wise man said, that there is nothing new under the sun. The process now described has often been realized before ; and, in similar circumstances, is sure to be always similarly realized. When light first comes in contact with darkness, there is a struggle, more or less protracted—an interval, longer or shorter, during which both seem to be blended together—a season of twilight which appears dubiously to hang in the balance the tendencies towards the ascendancy of night or the dominion of day. Thus it was in the first centuries of the Christian era. When Heathenism was only concussed and broken but not destroyed, whether in its grosser form of idolatry or in its more refined form of Philosophy, it strove to have itself, in whole or in part, amalgamated with the purer faith which threatened, not merely conquest, but extermination. Hence, amongst other achievements, the strenuous attempts, in the celebrated schools of Alexandria, to purify the Grecian and other oriental Philosophies, by an infiltration of Christian truth. Hence, the Alexandrian Platonism became a sort of demi-Christianized Platonism—properly designated Neo-Platonism, to distinguish it from the old. So, in like manner, ought much of what, now-a-days, is made to pass for Vedantism—consisting as it does of a new compound arising from an incorporation of many Western ideas with fragments of oriental thought—to be designated Neo-Vedantism, to distinguish it from the old. “ The world, through wisdom,” says an inspired Apostle, “ knew not God,” “ Those great disputers of this world,” as the weighty aphorism has been and may be paraphrased, “ were too full of nice speculations to know Him who is only to be discovered by a composed, humble, and self-denying mind ; their curiosity served rather to dazzle their eyes than to enlighten them ; while they rather proudly braved themselves in their knowledge of the Deity, than humbly subjected their own souls in a compliance with it ; making the Divinity nothing else but as a flattering glass that might reflect and set off to them the beauty of their own art and parts : and, while they seemed to converse with God himself, they rather amorously courted their own image in Him, and fell in love with their own shape.” How strikingly applicable these words are to some of our modern Vedantists, who, even now, in the midst of us, are busily engaged in shaping and fashioning a new God and a new religion unto themselves—those who have noted their movements best, can best testify !

But, leaving the general theme and coming to the volume more immediately before us, we may remark that, as a natural sprout and offspring of the present state of fermentation and change, the Society, whose published manifesto it is, recently sprung into existence. The nature and objects of the Society, however, will best appear from the preface of the volume now under review, which, for this purpose, we herewith insert entire :—

“ The committee of the ‘ Hindu Theophilanthropic Society’ deem it incum-

bent on them to say a few words with reference to the nature and objects of the Society. Its existence is owing to a conviction irresistibly forcing itself upon every reflective mind that the great work of India's regeneration cannot be achieved without due attention to her moral and religious improvement.

"The Society was established on the 10th of February, 1843, by a select number of Native friends assembled for the purpose of considering the best means for promoting the moral elevation of their countrymen. Despite the formidable obstacles which opposed themselves to its progress, and which, under the existing circumstances of our country, are inseparable from the pursuit of every great and good undertaking; this little corporation, thus originated, has continued to thrive, and now promises to be a lasting and efficient institution. Its operations during the last year afford a cheering illustration of the practical recognition on the part of some educated Hindus at least, of the necessity and importance of moral and religious culture.

"The Society aims at the extermination of Hindu idolatry, and the dissemination of sound and enlightened views of the Supreme Being—of the unseen and future world—of truth—of happiness and final beatitude. It proposes to teach the Hindus to worship God in *spirit* and in *truth*, and to enforce those moral and most sacred duties which they owe to their Maker, to their fellow-beings, and to themselves.

"The truths which it means to inculcate are, it must be remembered, not necessarily dependent on the truth or falsehood of any creed, but such as are sanctioned by the universal belief of mankind. But though absolutely independent of all creeds, yet these truths form the basis, so to speak, of every creed. That there is a Creator and moral Governor of the universe—that there is a something in man which is not annihilated on the dissolution of the bodily frame and which is immortal—that virtue is associated with happiness, and vice with misery; these constitute the fundamental doctrines, the seminal principles, of the religion both of civilized and uncivilized nations. The practical recognition of them by the great mass of the Natives, cannot but be hailed by every real friend of India.

"The object of the Society, as its very name implies, is to promote love to God and love to man. It is an object in which every pious and benevolent person must be deeply interested.

"The Society holds monthly meetings, when discourses in English and Bengalli are delivered. The subjects embraced by the discourses relate to general principles in morals and religion. The other means adopted by the Society for the realization of its object, are the preparation and publication of Bengalli Tracts on moral and religious subjects, and the reprinting of Sanscrit and Bengalli works illustrating the same.

"The object of the Society being absolutely a Catholic object, it is earnestly hoped that the cordial sympathies of every enlightened European and Native friend of our country will be enlisted in its behalf.

"*Calcutta, 1st October, 1844.*"

The objects of the Association are still farther expounded in the first or introductory discourse—in some respects, the ablest and the best in the whole collection. Amid many glaring obscurities of spiritual vision and many palpable inadequacies of spiritual conception, there is a distinct recognition of various important principles and a candid acknowledgment of various important facts. It is, withal, written in a style which indicates considerable earnestness of spirit—a somewhat refreshing phenomenon in this region of freezing indifference. The

grand but too frequently neglected fact, that man is endowed with moral and religious powers not less than with intellectual faculties—and that the former require to be developed and cultivated not less than the latter—is thus distinctly announced :—

“That there is a something in man essentially different from his intellectual self is obvious from a survey of his constitution. He is a religious and moral as well as an intellectual being. He stands in threefold relation to his God, to his fellow-beings, and to himself. He is endowed with veneration, which has reference to the first relation ; with benevolence, which has reference to the second ; and with prudence, which has reference to the third. The seeds of veneration and benevolence are implanted in the heart of man by the hand of God, but they cannot germinate and fructify without cultivation. The development of our religious and moral feelings and affections is the great end of our being. But how can it be effected ? Not, of course, by the development of the intellectual faculties alone ! No : intellectual cultivation is not identical with religious and moral cultivation. The former does not necessarily imply the latter. The system of education pursued by the educational council, though pregnant with results of the highest importance to India, is not sufficiently calculated to realize the great objects of education. It has reference to the *head*, and not to the *heart*,—to the *intellectual*, and not to the *moral*, and *religious* man. But men are not mere pieces of *intellectualism*. As moral and religious beings, therefore—beings, endowed with feelings and affections susceptible of the most splendid development—beings destined to immortality ; to survive the material world, aye, those planets and suns rolling in the immensity of space, we cannot act in more diametrical opposition to the great purposes of our existence than to be neglectful of *moral and religious culture*. That the organization of this Society is manifestly calculated to cherish and foster our moral and religious sentiments must be admitted. It is one of the best means that could be adopted for the accomplishment of our end in view. Associated strength and zeal can work wonders.”

The undeniable fact, that many who have acquired a superior education and who have in consequence, *theoretically* at least, renounced the monstrous absurdities of Hinduism, without seeking, and apparently without caring for a better substitute instead,—is thus fairly admitted and gently exposed :—

“In surveying the present state of our country, while we are struck, on the one hand, by the radical changes effected by the omnipotence of education, we behold on the other the melancholy picture presented by the absence of all *practical religion* among the educated, or, rather, the so-called educated natives. It is a humiliating but nevertheless an unquestionable fact, that in renouncing the superstition of their country,—in disembarassing their minds from the fetters of that antiquated bigotry which still cleaves to the great mass around them, they have not embraced a purer and nobler religion. Though they believe in the one and true God, yet their belief, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, is merely a *passive assent* instead of being a *living conviction*. They oscilate between the creed they have renounced, and that which they profess. But their profession does not seem to harmonize with the general tenor of their lives. For the great majority of the young men who call themselves educated do not think of religion. Many of them are known to manifest an absolute indifference to it. While they would talk one to death on the degrading nature of the religion of their country, while they would fiercely participate in the luxuries of a European's table, and think that therein the pith and marrow of reformation did consist, they do not make any provision for the cultivation of



their religious sentiments. These liberals of our day, these pseudo reformers of our country, must know that their enlightenment—their elevation above their ignorant and benighted countrymen, is a dream, a chimera. If, in emancipating themselves from the manacles of superstition, they had manifested a corresponding zeal in the culture of their religious feelings, in the acquisition and dissemination of the knowledge of God by the study of His power and goodness, as displayed in his wondrous works, then would they have called the *life* of their race, the *lights* of their country! But their renunciation of our popular religion, when viewed in connection with their apathy and lukewarmness in religious culture, is anything but practical, and instead of elevating them above, degrades them beneath their superstitious countrymen. The latter *have* a religion, though a false religion. They do not wholly want those strong motives to virtue, of which superstition deprives them not. Their belief, for instance, in the existence of Hell (*Naruck*) i. e. in the retributive justice of God, operates as an incentive to virtue, and a guarantee against vice. But several of our educated friends (I speak from personal knowledge) absolutely deny futurity, and would have us confine our hopes and aspirations to this world, while the belief of most of them in it is so faint and passive that it cannot, as a matter of course, impart to them those sanctions to virtuous conduct with which the invincible belief of our superstitious countrymen in the rewards and punishments of a future state, so strongly inculcated in their *Shastras*, abundantly supply them."

On the great subject of national improvement, the author, we are happy to find, has adopted the more sane and sober views which have been put forth by the advocates of a moral and religious Reform as indispensable towards social and political amelioration. Never, certainly, did men labour under a grosser hallucination than those who dream that political reform alone constitutes the panacea for India's wrongs and India's complex maladies; and it is something novel and pleasant in its way to find the authors and abettors of such a short-sighted and delusive theory thus effectually rebuked, though in a somewhat too radical strain, by an intelligent Hindu:—

"We talk of the injustice of our Government. We talk of the selfish and exclusive policy of our masters of Leadenhall Street. We talk of the political degradation of our country. But rest assured that the great work of our regeneration cannot be achieved by means of political elevation alone. No. The disease of our country is a complicated disease, and of a moral rather than of a political character. From this it should not be understood that I am opposed to political reform. Quite the reverse. I would be the first person to reprobate the narrow and short-sighted policy of our Merchant Princes—our Joint-stock Sovereigns,—to advocate the abolition of their salt and opium, as well as their administrative monopoly, in order that the Natives may participate in the benefits of an unfettered commerce, and enjoy those situations of emolument and responsibility to which they are entitled. I am firmly persuaded that one of the best means for regenerating and elevating India is to do her political justice,—to free her from the political disabilities under which she labours,—to render the path of political distinction accessible to her children,—to realize the benevolent intentions of the last Charter as embodied in the 87th clause,—to give them a share in the administration of their country, by levelling that distinction of covenanted and uncovenanted service which a blind self-interest has upreared—by annihilating the 'aristocracy of skin,' and recognizing merit and not complexion as worthy of reward! But political elevation alone, exclusive of intellectual, and, what is more, of moral and religious elevation, cannot realise the hopes of the friends of India. The accom-

plishment of her regeneration cannot, I reiterate, be effected without the spread of a sound moral education, the cultivation of our religious and moral feelings,—the extirpation of superstition and prejudice,—the dissemination among our countrymen of pure and elevated ideas of God, and the recognition by them of that religion which teaches that He alone is the object of worship. Give her moral and religious freedom, and her regeneration is achieved. India, morally and religiously free and regenerated;—India emancipated from her spiritual thralldom;—India disembarassed from the manacles of that Brahminical superstition which consists in the worship of images and the multiplication of the one indivisible Godhead into thirty-three hundreds of millions of parts, will rise spontaneously and irresistibly and clothe herself with the rights and privileges of civilization and freedom!"

The remainder of the volume consists of a series of essays partly in Bengalli and partly in English. The former, which are written in a pleasing and elegant style, treat of the power and goodness of God, the delight of worshipping Brahma, the Supreme, &c., and abound with sentiments and expressions which never could have occurred to an unsophisticated disciple of the genuine old school of Vedantism. They have in them an infusion of better ideas, imported without acknowledgment from another and widely different soil. The English essays illustrate or discuss the following subjects:—The goodness of the Deity manifested in a leaf.—The system of philosophy inculcated in the Bhagavat Gita.—The Bhagavat Gita.—The power, wisdom, and goodness of the Deity as displayed in the organism of the Zoophyte.—Hinduism as it is.—The phenomena of reproduction.—The association of virtue with happiness, and of vice with misery, an argument for the goodness of the Deity.—The immortality of the soul as inculcated by the Hindu religion.—Conformity and nonconformity. The most of these bear internal evidence of having proceeded from the pen of the author of the first or inaugural discourse. There are at least two very palpable exceptions from this general conclusion;—as two of the essays are from the pen of an educated native Christian, who was permitted to read them as a visitor.

From the preceding list of essays there is one which we could heartily wish to have seen excluded. It is that on "the phenomena of reproduction." If it had been delivered professionally in a medical college, to professional medical students, it would have been all very well. But, published as it is, in a volume designed for the perusal of ordinary promiscuous readers of every class and sex, it certainly is entirely out of place—a monument of gross feeling and bad taste. And when it enumerates the mighty men that have, like others, been so "wonderfully and fearfully made," in such an order as the following,—*"A Milton and a Shakespeare, an Alexander and a Napoleon, a Bacon and a Newton, a Howard and a Hare!"*—we can only lift up our hands in dumb and expressive silence. Mr. David Hare—who, whatever might be his good qualities, was scarcely known beyond the precincts of Calcutta, and who was as notoriously distinguished for his opposition to pure moral and religious culture as he was for his general zeal in behalf of secular education—made the climax or culminating point to

the ascending series of Milton and Shakespeare, Alexander and Napoleon, Bacon and Newton and Howard! Why, it simply reminds us of the climax of the Frenchman who exclaimed, in the view of a noble landscape, "Beautiful—sublime—magnificent—*pretty well!*"

In the essay on the immortality of the soul as inculcated by the Hindu religion, it is not only admitted, but proved by suitable quotations, that the genuine Vedantic doctrine is, that the soul is "an emanation from the Deity"—that is "part and parcel of the universal spirit—that it is a portion of the Supreme Ruler as a spark is of fire"—that "the relation is not that of master and servant, ruler and ruled, but as that of *whole and part*,—that being "a portion of the divine substance it participates in the divine attributes, eternal and unborn, immortal and infinite"—and that "salvation or *mukti* is identification with the Deity or absorption into his essence." And what grieves us to find is that a writer of such intelligence could propound this impious dogma, not only without repudiating it, but apparently consenting to it as true. It is only an additional confirmation of the assertion of the inspired volume, that in spiritual matters the highest wisdom of this world is very foolishness.

In the essay on "Hinduism as it is," there are some very excellent and pertinent remarks respecting the evils of the popular idolatry—intermixed, however, like all the rest, with many confused and darkling observations. It very unnecessarily revives the now almost universally exploded idea of Hume and others—that idolatry was the *first* form of belief and worship—that it preceded Monotheism or Deism—and that the latter is the philosophical growth of a subsequent age and more refined period of social existence. It is an idea not less repugnant to the revelation of the Bible, than it is opposed to the dictates of sound reason and the best authenticated records of Ancient History. It is distinctly allowed that the Vedas do "*countenance idolatry.*" It might rather be said, do deliberately and systematically inculcate it. But is this conceded "countenance" of idolatry condemned by our author? Nay; the fact is admitted, as it is too notorious to admit of denial. But, then, it is reluctantly admitted—admitted, with sundry softening and apologetic expressions. The idolatry inculcated by the Vedas is declared to be different in kind from the idolatry which now prevails. It is "*a deification only of the elements,*" and so forth. What! Talk of the extermination of idolatry, and in the same breath uphold the Vedas and Vedantism which tolerates or countenances idolatry! Is it not marvellous that the stark staring contradiction of such a course of procedure does not awaken our amiable and rational Theophilanthropists out of their delusive dreams?

The essay on the system of philosophy inculcated in the Bhagavat Gita exhibits also the same incongruous blending of light and darkness. It is a spectacle to excite one's pity and compassion. It is eulogised beyond all reasonable proportion—being "surpassed by not even the Iliad or the Paradise Lost!" Why, truly, this is somewhat like saying that the glow-worm or the fire-fly is, in brilliancy, surpassed by not even

the moon or the sun? The Gita is said to aim at the extermination of Hindu idolatry! and yet it is allowed that "it compromises in some measure with the religious prejudices of our countrymen, by not attacking them directly," and by repeatedly declaring that "the temporary enjoyment of an inferior heaven, for a limited period, is the reward of those that worship idols." Its views of God are said to be "peculiarly noble and elevated;" and yet it is admitted that "it identifies, in some measure, the creature with the Creator,"—and that "it savours, in short, of Pantheism," the author is "not prepared to deny." It is declared that "no higher code of morals can be conceived than that inculcated by the Gita;"—and yet it is admitted to have for its basis the fearfully presumptuous pride of *Stoicism*—and that the ostensible object of the whole work is to "reconcile Arjun to a war with his kinsmen!" In "elevation of sentiment, in acuteness of argumentation, in sublimity of conception, in splendour of diction, in felicity of illustration," it is said to be "rivalled by perhaps no performance in the Sanskrit language;"—and yet before the critic is done with it, he is obliged candidly to confess that its main and leading "object" is "absolutely irreconcilable with the doctrines inculcated by it"—that "some parts of it are opposed to others"—that "it is, in short, an incongruous whole, and exhibits rather the grandeur and sublimity of a ruin than the beauty and magnificence of a finished pile." But we cannot follow any farther this strange medley of sense and no-sense—light and darkness—strength and weakness—boldness and timidity—sincerity and compromise—which constitute the main staple of this as well as most of the other essays. Nor is it necessary. The task has been in part well executed by the *native Christian visitor* of the Society. His essay on the Bhagavat Gita, included in the present collection, ought to form, to a considerable extent, an antidote to much of the poisonous and perilous stuff that precedes and follows it. It is, moreover, written in a calm, clear, dispassionate, and candid style. The Neo-Vedantist Essayist having quoted, with marked approbation, Warren Hastings's famous panegyric on the Gita, the Christian Essayist proceeds to analyse and expose it. He thus, first of all, points out its inconsistencies and self-contradictions:—

"In one place he says, that in estimating the merits of the Gita the critic should divest his mind, not only of all such sentiments of decency and propriety as were conventional in Europe, but also of all those notions and feelings which the Christian religion and moral philosophy venerated:—in another place he pronounces this production to be equal to the Christian Scriptures! With the same pen, he first writes to tell you that you must expect to find in the Gita, *obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a perverted morality*,—and then wishes you also to accord to it the singular merit of being as rational an oracle of Divinity as the Bible itself! In one paragraph he says he could not venture to recommend the Gita for publication without preparing the European reader for much that would militate against his notions of religion and morality;—(otherwise why exclude all appeals to the revealed tenets of religion and moral duty?)—within a few pages again he tells you in substance that Krishna Dwapayana Vyasa inculcated in India the same sentiments which Paul of Tarsus preached in Europe! Which of these two contradictory representa-

tions of the Bhagavat Gita is to be received for true? Is this to be dealt with as a work that, whatever its other merits required, before it could be decently presented to the English reader, *the allowance of obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a perverted morality*, and an exclusion of all appeals to the revealed tenets of the gospel? Or is it to be considered, what Mr. Hastings has elsewhere called it, *a theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation, and powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines?* But if the Right Honourable critic had himself observed his own principle of excluding all appeals to Christianity in forming a just estimate of the Gita, how could he record this last verdict? How could he say that the one accurately corresponded with the other, if the two were not to be compared together? How can you divest your minds of all allusions to a certain system while examining the merits of another, if you hesitate not to pronounce them both to be equal?"

After adverting to those anomalous inconsistencies, he next enters and records his solemn protest against the notion that the theology of the Bhagavat Gita accurately corresponds with that of the Christian dispensation, or that it powerfully enforces its fundamental doctrines:—

"The *Gita* props up the pantheistic theology of the Vedant; the *Bible* bases its dispensations on an acknowledged personal and individual discrimination between the Creator and the creature. The *one* represents the human spirit as eternal and uncreate; the *other* pronounces all creatures animate and inanimate to have been created from nothing. The *Gita* would have you believe that, as Krishna was from eternity, so likewise Arjun and all the princes of the earth *never were not*; the Biblical Scriptures teach you that man was created at a definite time when God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Thus in one of the very fundamental points of all religion, the *Gita* contradicts not only Christianity but also the first principles of natural theology, by denying the creation of the human spirit, or identifying it with the Divine.

Again, by maintaining the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, the *Gita* has proved itself to be a system opposed to the gospel. According to Vyas, the soul departs from an old enacrated body only to enter into a fresh one, after the manner of a person changing old garments and putting on new ones;—according to the inspired writers of the Bible, the spirits of men departing this life, enter another world of joy or suffering, and there abide the great judgment to come.

Once more, the annihilation of individual existence by absorption into the Divine spirit is the highest object of desire which the *Gita* presents to his votaries; immortal existence in the enjoyment of God's presence is the reward which the *Gospel* offers to its recipients. Accordingly, the *one* predicts the destruction of personal existence, and, consequently, of the individual soul to take place at a certain unknown period; the *other* inculcates the immortal existence of every individual soul in pleasure or in pain as the righteous judgment of God shall allot to every man his own portion.

In fine, Christianity is a dispensation of love and mercy, righteousness and holiness,—asserting the goodness and justice of God, and providing for human redemption consistently with the Divine perfections. It teaches us that the children of Adam are, by nature and actual commission, transgressors of God's will, and have rendered themselves liable to condemnation and punishment. It meets man as a sinner, ignorant of the way whereby to retrieve and repair his situation. It proclaims Christ's sacrifice on the cross as a perfect, sufficient, and full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and thus it proposes to procure remission of his sins and to restore him to divine grace. The *Gita* proposes a confused and mystic system of divinity, confounding the creature

with the Creator, and holding out the dissolution of individual existence as the great object of human ambition to be obtained by an abstract contemplation of the identity of the Supreme with the human Spirit;—entirely silent on those points on which man needs instruction for the purposes of internal salvation, and much too loquacious on subjects of mere metaphysical curiosity, and questions of subtle and unprofitable disputation."

After various other remarks, calculated to show that the Bhagavat Gita, instead of discouraging, tended rather to inculcate and uphold idolatry,—and, instead of teaching a sublime theology, laboured rather to establish a system fitted to "sap the very foundation of pure natural religion, so as virtually to lead to infidelity, impiety, and ungodliness,"—the author concludes with the following pointed and appropriate counsels:—

"And here I will venture to remind you, that religion is to be studied *objectively* and *subjectively*;—*objectively*, with reference to the ascertained and established truths which it embodies, independent of man's belief and conduct, —and *subjectively*, as regards the improvement of human feelings respecting them. *Objectively*, you must seek daily for further light and knowledge;—and *subjectively*, you must seek to follow the light and knowledge thus received to their fullest extent. Your efforts may thus be directed in a two-fold channel;—*inquiring* after truth as far as your spiritual interests may need; and the cultivation of your own love and reverence for truth so far as you succeed in discovering or comprehending it. The *one* will require reading and research;—the other, contemplation, and a spirit of devotion to God; and both may be greatly expedited by prayerfulness to Him who can direct and fill the understanding as well as sanctify and move the heart. In this way only can we hope to render ourselves accepted in God's sight. We need the knowledge of His will, and the performance of that will when known. We must inquire how He wishes us to worship and approach Him,—and actually, so approach and worship, when we attain the object of our inquiry. We must ever seek the state of mind in which David sang,—*Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes, and I shall keep it unto the end. Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law; yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart.* This is the kind of feeling upon which all religious pursuits are to be based; this is the spirit in which all divine duties are to be discharged; this is the tone that should pervade all rational beings and moral agents. In conclusion, I must, as a Christian minister, declare and offer to your collective or individual inquiry, that the will and statutes of God *have* been communicated by Him; that the *objective* truths of religion *have* been declared; that the Supreme Being *has* imparted a knowledge of his laws, and published the way of human redemption; that an atonement and satisfaction for sin *has* been made—even by Him whose very name signifies His office as the anointed Saviour of the world. The proclamation of these truths is what we mean by the Gospel,—and it is this grand doctrine that we offer to the consideration and reception of all men; and whether *this* society can directly admit of this particular consideration or not, I may at least call upon you in your *private* capacities not to treat this great question with indifference, but to pursue it until you arrive at a satisfactory conclusion—until the mind is convinced, and the heart is affected—hope is produced, and confidence begotten;—until the spirits shall be fortified by grace and anchor upon faith—unmoved by the troubles and agitations of life, and waiting in joyful anticipation of that blessed day when God shall wipe away all tears from its eyes."

When we look around us and view the monstrous puerilities, absur-

dities, and cruelties that are practised by multitudes in the name of worship—affronting heaven and desecrating earth—dishonouring to God and ruinous to the souls of men—it is impossible to view, without interest or concern, the transitionary struggles of the members of the Theophilanthropic Society to emancipate themselves from the yoke of an hereditary and degrading superstition. It is a certain step or movement in advance, which indicates the introduction and working of some influential elements of change. And after the stagnation of so many ages, who would not rejoice at the faintest prospect of motion and reviviscence? The very desire to get extricated from the quagmire of an abominable idolatry—to escape from the senseless mummeries of a ceremonial formalism—to repudiate the irrationality of a theoretic or practical atheism—to cultivate the religious and moral feelings which alone constitute the seat of pure devotion—to present before a brutishly idolatrous generation the spectacle of a service, which, though it does not approximate yet aspires to be reckoned a worship of God in “Spirit and in truth;”—such a desire, however faintly developed, however inadequately cherished, and however unstedfastly pursued, cannot but excite hope and awaken the promise of better days. At the same time, respect for the members of the society, some of whom we personally know—a sacred regard for the cause of truth, and an anxious solicitude for the best interests of our fellow-creatures and fellow-citizens, unite in constraining us to conclude with an earnest and friendly expostulation. The inaugural discourse professes to make light of *all creeds*—“*revealed*,” among the rest. And yet most of the essays present mournful but indisputable evidence that there must be some grievous self-delusion here. Indifference to all creeds!—Strange! When there is one continued effort to commend and uphold Vedantism, as the purest and sublimest of all creeds!—when, to maintain its credit and superiority, there is an earnest and elaborate struggle throughout!—when, in order to elevate it into exclusive prominence, any better qualities which it contains are disproportionately magnified, while its more revolting and even blasphemous features are studiously vanished over, or wholly shrouded from the view? In the mildest terms, we must designate this a sorrowful self-delusion, to save us from the necessity of characterizing it as something worse. Again, the only revelation of God which is recognised is that contained in the “great volume of nature.” And yet the volumes of the Vedas, and the Bhagavat Gita, and such like, are constantly appealed to as *authorities*, while the volume of inspired truth—the Bible—the only volume which has ever triumphantly authenticated its credentials as a revelation from the most high God,—is passed by in contemptuous silence! Is this *rational*? The Bible claims to be received, it challenges all men to receive it—as a revelation of God’s will. Have the members of the Theophilanthropic Society coolly, calmly, and deliberately examined these claims? If so, have they found them to be untenable, and are they prepared to substantiate the reasons of their rejection of evidence which more than satisfied the penetrating

intellect of a Bacon, a Newton, a Locke, and a Boyle? If not, what right have they, in reason or common sense, to assume *a priori* and *without any examination at all*, or at least without any worthy of the name, that the Bible does not contain as genuine a revelation of God as the great volume of his visible works? That it does so, has been and is the firm, the intelligent, and the enlightened conviction of myriads of the noblest spirits which have elevated humanity or gladdened the world with their presence. And is it wise—is it consistent—is it safe—for professed inquirers after truth to shut the eyes of their understanding and the door of their heart against a whole system of truth which the greatest, the wisest, and the best of mankind, with one concurrent voice, proclaim to be *essentially divine*? That God has revealed much of his nature, his character, and attributes in the volume of creation, is what we rejoice to believe and glory in acknowledging. But that he has revealed much more of his nature, his character, and attributes in the volume of his Word, is what we rejoice to believe, and glory in avowing too. We do not despise the light of reason, or the light of conscience, or the light of God's visible works. As far as these are *truly* discerned, they are genuine lights. But what we maintain is, that they are faint and feeble, compared with the light which streameth from Jehovah's Oracles. In the darkness and gloom of a cloudy night, who would despise the twinkling of a star? But who, in his sound mind, would deliberately prefer the glimmer of a single star to the blaze of a whole firmament of stars?—or of a firmament of stars to the superior radiance of the full orb'd moon?—or of the full orb'd moon to the dazzling brightness of the noontide sun? And such as is the difference between the light of a starry sky and the effulgence of the meridian sun, such, if not vastly greater, is the difference between the fairest revelation of God in his works and the surpassing lustre of that revelation which he has graciously condescended to make of himself in his inspired Word. We would therefore earnestly entreat the members of the Theophilanthropic Society to lay these things to heart,—to reconsider their present line of procedure,—and to advance to the study of that *only* Book which can scatter the clouds that now environ and obscure their spiritual vision, guide them unerringly along the dangerous course of time, and conduct them in safety to the regions of glory, honour, and immortality.

*Proposed Fever Hospital, in connection with the Medical College, Calcutta. By Fred. J. Mouat, M.D.*

Our object is not exclusively or even chiefly a literary one—either as to *matter* or *style*. As to *matter*, our great design is to discuss all manner of subjects, calculated, in any way, to throw light on the existing condition of this country, its rulers and its people—and thereby fitted, directly or indirectly, to accelerate the cause of general improvement. As to *style*, neither despising nor neglecting its elegances



or its excellences, as occasion may offer, our chief concern is to express our meaning with a clearness and a force which may indicate our earnestness of purpose. For these reasons, we feel that it quite falls within the general scope of our undertaking to notice a pamphlet like that which now lies before us.

In April, 1835, we are informed that "James Ranald Martin, Esq., Surgeon to the Native Hospital, addressed a letter to the Governors of that Institution, pointing out the urgent necessity for establishing a Fever Hospital in a central part of the Native Town of Calcutta, from the constant universal and frightful prevalence of fever among the Native inhabitants, its generally fatal consequences, and the acceleration of the fate of those attacked by it through the unskilful and mistaken remedies resorted to by the Native Doctors, to whose aid alone the poorer classes of Natives, with few exceptions, could have recourse." The governors were not slow in giving the subject the consideration which it deserved. On due inquiries made they soon came unanimously to the resolution that "the proposal to establish a Fever Hospital in a central part of the Native Town of Calcutta, was one of undoubted expediency"—that, under the circumstances described by them, it was "highly necessary to solicit the contributions of all classes of the community" towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object—and that a sub-committee should be appointed to adopt all practicable measures calculated to ensure its realization.

This Committee appear to have set to work with commendable zeal and energy. Amongst other objects, they began to collect, from all available sources, such facts and suggestions as might contribute to confirm or illustrate the expediency and practicability of the general design. These facts and suggestions they subsequently embodied in an elaborate Report. And it is of extracts or selections from this Report that Dr. Mouat's pamphlet mainly consists. The extracts or selections are very judicious and appropriate. But we must be allowed to express our regret that they are not preceded by a general abstract or digest of the contents. In a case to be established for judicial decision or executive purposes, it is essential that it should be supported by a body of evidence, extending to the minutest particular. The more frequent the repetition of the same or similar statements, on the part of separate and independent witnesses, the better; inasmuch as every such repetition is of the nature of a confirmatory testimony. But that which constitutes the chief value of a body of substantiating evidence, is the very thing which renders it utterly insufferable to the general reader, who soon gets wearied of endless reduplication, and bewildered in the maze of circumstantial varieties. Hence the importance of a brief clear summary or digest. Hence our regret that Dr. Mouat, for the sake of the cause which he has so much at heart, has not furnished such a condensed abstract of the contents of his pamphlet—throwing the whole mass of the extracts into an Appendix. Such an abstract would be readily and gladly perused by many who will not have patience or inclination to toil through a tangled forest of

facts. Such an abstract, too, would have been readily inserted entire in newspapers and periodicals that cannot afford space for the contents of a pamphlet of *thirty-one* pages, and whose conductors cannot afford time to draw out epitomized summaries for themselves. In the absence, however, of such a summary, we may briefly advert to two or three leading points and furnish a few corroborative quotations.

1st.—As to the *prevalence of fever, &c.* All the most experienced medical gentlemen in Calcutta unite in bearing testimony to the frightful extent to which all the ordinary tropical diseases prevail among the native inhabitants of this metropolis, and more particularly bilious, intermittent, and remittent fevers, with their almost invariable *sequela*, spleen, diarrhoea, and dyspepsia. All observation and experience go to prove that, during the four unhealthy months of August, September, October, and November alone, there are at least *eighteen thousand* persons, out of a floating population of 300,000, attacked by fevers of different kinds; that of these “about *one-fifth*, or *twenty* per cent. die before December; that about one-tenth of these diseases run into the following months of December, January, February, and March; that of the remaining half may recover; but with others, enlargement of the spleen and affections of the liver last, with intermittent fever, for many months, when they terminate fatally.”

2d.—As to the present *total want of any adequate means of relief, and the consequent aggravated sufferings and almost necessitated premature loss of thousands of lives*, the testimonies are equally explicit and decisive. The governors of the Native Hospital declare that “thousands of the poorer Natives in and around Calcutta are continually exposed to the ravages of the more prevalent diseases of the country, and in a very large proportion *without a chance of being relieved*—and that *they die in thousands, not from the original force of the disease, but from the want of an asylum like that now proposed, viz. an Hospital.*” Mr. Surgeon Martin testifies, that “fever is so universal with the Native, that until enlarged spleen or bowel complaint, the *sequela* to oft repeated fever, seizes him, he never thinks it necessary to apply for aid; that when he does, it is but to accelerate his fate, as the compound of arsenic and spices, or the rude preparation of mercury, given by the Native Doctors, is efficacious to rekindle the feeble remains of constitutional power only to sink the more rapidly in death!” Baboo Ramcomul Sein and Dr. Jackson, in their joint observations, declare that “there are no institutions which are of adequate service to the immense number of poor, homeless, and helpless native inhabitants and emigrants in and about the Town of Calcutta;” that though there were a Native Hospital and two public Dispensaries, “the people do not generally avail themselves of the benefit of these institutions;” that “the Native Hospital is well calculated, and was originally established, for patients labouring under external or accidental injuries, such as are constantly sent by the Police; but that people affected with fever, or other diseases, of whom great numbers die annually derive hardly any benefit from it:”

that "the Dispensaries supply medicines to such persons as are able to attend personally, and to show themselves to the superintending Surgeon or Apothecary; but if the dose of medicine they receive does not produce the expected relief, or operate with any degree of violence, or if their illness increases, they do not present themselves again, or apply for more medicines, and nothing more is known of their history;" and that "indeed there are many who receive medicine from the Dispensaries but do not take it at all." In the observations of the same respectable and highly qualified witnesses, there is the following affecting statement, which we are tempted to give entire:—

"\* \* Besides the multitude of resident inhabitants destitute of medical aid, except from dispensaries, people from various parts of Bengal come to Calcutta to seek for employment, to beg charity and assistance from their friends and acquaintances, and for speculations. They come and live with persons who are employed in offices, and workmen, and those who follow menial professions, and whose means are very limited. If they are able, or willing, to live separately, they hire lodgings in some hut or old building, the small apartments of which are let from two annas to two rupees a month. These people do not possess a sufficient quantity of clothing; they are naked almost day and night; they have no bed, and lie down on mats and leaves spread on the damp ground in their cells or holes. In hot weather they sleep out in open places, and on the borders of the road exposed to the weather, and all its changes.

"When they get fever or cholera, they have nobody to attend on them, nor have they any means to procure medical aid, clothing, or food, suitable to the state of their health. If it is fever, it increases, and becomes violent day by day; many cannot afford to buy even a dose of *Panchun* (the commonest and cheapest native remedy) which costs but one pyee; and even if the people of the house, or their neighbours, give them pyees enough to purchase it, they have neither place nor means to prepare it; and, destitute of all the comforts and necessities of life, their illnesses soon arrive at a stage always dangerous, in which their recovery must be generally considered doubtful; while they are, without any care and attention being paid to them, exposed to the vicissitudes of the atmosphere, with nothing but unwholesome water for drink. The friends of the miserable being with whom he lives, or at whose place he hires his lodging, finding his case bad, become alarmed, send for a *Byda* (Native Doctor) to prescribe for him. But the landlord or host now becomes involved in another difficulty: he cannot attend himself to the sick, and neither has, nor can give means to take proper care of him; and, therefore, to get rid of his sick tenant or guest, these are the modes usually resorted to:—He procures him either a boat or dooly to carry him to his family in the country, which he never, or at least seldom, reaches. By the shaking and agitation he receives in his weak state, exposed to the weather, he soon dies. 'I have seen,' says Dr. Jackson, 'boatmen and bearers often put down such men on the ghauts and bank of the river, &c., where, in a few hours, they have expired; or they are often attacked by beasts of prey before they cease to breathe. The second, and more convenient mode adopted in Calcutta for disposing of such a man is, to carry him to the bank of the river, and there to place him under the charge of some hired people at the ghaut of the river, waiting his dissolution.

"This mode is considered more convenient and less expensive and better for the deceased as well as the persons to whom he was attached. Another reason for this also is the well known Hindu belief, that, when a sick man considers that he has no hope left of being recovered, he had better die by the holy

stream. Allowing the sick to die in his cell, and throwing his body into the stream, is reckoned infamous, and disgraceful to the survivors and friends of the deceased, and cruel and unbecoming in the persons with whom he has lived. But if he dies on the bank of the Ganges there is some consolation for his family and friends, and at the same time it saves the landlord or his host from the reproaches which might otherwise be poured upon him by the friends.

"It is to these circumstances that the *Unterjulie*, or ghat murder, owes its derivation, about which so much has of late been said in the Calcutta papers."

3rd.—As to the question which had been raised relative to the difference in the nature of the relief afforded by the two kinds of institution, an Hospital and a Dispensary, Dr. Martin, Dr. Nicolson, Dr. Stewart, and other competent judges, are very unanimous and decided in giving the preference to the former, viz. the Hospital. Dr. Martin thus remarks :—

" \* \* Without the aid of an hospital, in a city like this, fever and dysentery cannot be cured ; everything in it is necessary to save life ; the regular visits of an European doctor, aided by an intelligent establishment ; its open airy wards and raised clean beds ; its regulated diet and clothing, and its general cleanliness—these are all necessary. But in a dispensary, which is only useful to keep men out of hospital (no small matter in itself), the patient gets his dose of medicine and is cured ; or, if not, he returns to the very place where he caught his disease, to sleep on the damp ground, to get medicine by chance, and have any diet or clothing the friends choose, together with the absence of all ventilation and cleanliness. In violent illness, therefore, such management can be of little avail in arresting disease. Again, it is not, even in the most dangerous diseases, by medicine *alone* that a man's life is to be saved, but by the careful and continued watching of the operations of nature, and those of medicine, so as to determine when to give and withhold drugs. It results from this that dispensaries take but a secondary or subordinate station, and cannot be compared in active relief to a well ventilated and regulated hospital. Speaking as a medical man, and viewing the question as it affects the public health, I should feel that I conferred a greater benefit on humanity in one case of acute disease restored to health in an hospital (where alone such cases can be treated), than by many scores of doubtful relief afforded through the casual exhibition of doses of medicine at a dispensary."

Dr. Nicolson, whose unrivalled shrewdness, sagacity, and experience entitle his opinion to more than ordinary weight, is equally clear and peremptory in his decision :—

"I think there can be no question as to the superiority of a large hospital for the accommodation of fever and all other medical cases for the purposes mentioned in the above paragraph, over any number of dispensaries strictly speaking ; but the expense of the former would necessarily be much greater. In advocating the establishment, therefore, of a large hospital for medical cases, I am not opposed to the establishing of dispensaries. On the contrary, I am of opinion that, as soon as an hospital is provided, dispensaries should be established in several parts of the town, and particularly in the populous suburbs around. These should be, strictly speaking, dispensaries, to afford advice and medicine to all applicants. As a large proportion of those who would apply to these dispensaries would be of the poorest and lowest classes, many of them strangers, and without friends in Calcutta, who have no property, save the few rags in which they are partially clothed, and no other means of support, save

their earnings from their labour from day to day, it is evident they could derive but very little benefit from a dispensary when labouring under an acute disease. They might indeed apply once or twice, be able to walk the first day, probably contrive to be carried the second, but as the disease advanced, and their strength failed, their means of conveyance exhausted, and their scanty remains of food drained to the dregs, they must inevitably perish from disease or starvation, unless some considerate Chowkedar (policeman) should take pity upon them, and have them conveyed to the police hospital. It is for the reception of this very numerous class of the inhabitants of Calcutta and the suburbs, when attacked by acute disease, that I considered a fever hospital so urgently required. And I feel satisfied that thousands of lives would be saved annually by the establishment of such an hospital, with a certain number of dispensaries subordinate in it. These dispensaries might, I think, be maintained at much less expense than the two now existing, subordinate to the native hospital."

4th.—As to the question *whether, in the event of an Hospital being established, the Natives would readily avail themselves of the advantages which it offered*, the testimonies are clear and strong in the affirmative. As this is a point of great practical importance, we cannot do better than present the admirable and conclusive summary supplied by the Committee. It is as follows:—

" \* \* The native hospital, it appears, was founded exclusively for surgical purposes; but, at least, during the four years ending 1836-7, the patients, in medical cases, who have been admitted into it as in-door patients occupying beds (it being already in evidence that they have constituted the majority for the last forty-five years) have *greatly* exceeded those in surgical cases. In these years it appears that the number of in-door patients in medical cases has amounted to 2,333, that of in-door patients in surgical cases, to 1,561—that the number of medical cases, which they feel compelled to admit, do injury to the surgical cases by crowding the ward—that the circumstances which compel them to admit such numbers of medical cases, are the want of any other hospital, and the *certainly of death to the applicants*, in the event of their refusing to receive them into the house—that *by these means they have saved hundreds of lives annually—that to have sent away poor creatures, labouring under fever and other acute diseases, would have been to consign them to lingering disease, misery, and certain death—that Hindus, Mahomedans, and Christians frequently apply for admission; the Hindus and Mahomedans, for in-door relief, in greater number than they can accommodate, in cases purely medical—that of the numbers of daily applicants for in-door relief, to whom they cannot possibly afford it, almost all are suffering from disease of a medical nature; for severe surgical cases they always admit—that they reckon, generally, that there are three Hindu applicants for every Mahomedan in both descriptions of cases, medical and surgical; the Hindu applicants, almost exclusively of the labouring classes, and of various castes—that after accommodating the surgical patients, they have the remaining beds always occupied by medical cases of an urgent nature—that these are persons who have either solicited in-door relief directly, or have applied as out-door patients in the first instance, but have taken to bed on being told that their diseases required in-door management—that the demands on them for in-door relief are so much beyond their means to answer them, that they are not much troubled to over-persuade patients to remain in the house; but such cases do occur occasionally, and several persons in the course of a month refuse to remain as in-patients—that, generally, in the hospital, as in the army, the lower the caste, the greater the difficulties offered to medical management, and *vice versa*—that about three or four per cent. of the daily applicants at the hospital ask for admission, the remainder come for*

dispensary relief—that after selecting the surgical cases, the first assistant selects the case of acute and dangerous disease—that men who know the institution, and particularly old patients, are always glad to be admitted—that strangers, and people from the country, are at first reluctant to enter the hospital, but are often induced to remain by the representations of the officers of the institution—that there is no disinclination, but quite the contrary, among the natives of this part of India, to the receiving advice and taking medicines from European medical practitioners, when labouring under diseases requiring medical treatment alone, so far as Mr. Martin's experience extends; and Mr. O'Brien is sure, from what he knows of the natives of Bengal, that they will always avail themselves of European medicine and advice, when within their reach; and if a medical man will listen patiently to their story, he will have more patients than he can find time to attend to—that *Mr. Martin will engage to fill a well ordered hospital, capable of receiving 250 patients, and to keep it full by transferring to it the daily applicants for in-door relief at the native hospital, for whom they have not accommodation*—that in Mr. Martin's opinion, a well regulated institution for the treatment of the diseases incident to the climate would be at once filled, and would continue to be so at all times and seasons—that in Mr. O'Brien's opinion, an hospital with 100 beds would be filled in two months—that the only dislike which Hindus of high caste have to entering the native hospital is, that they are mixed up with the Mahomedan patients—and Mr. O'Brien is sure that if, in the proposed hospital, the wards for Hindus and Mussulmans are made perfectly distinct, and the Hindu part of the building divided into two or three wards, so as to have the Brahmans and higher castes separate from the lower castes, the highest caste Brahmin would have no objection to remain in an hospital so regulated—that there must be a ward for Christians distinct from the apartments of the other two classes—that they may all mingle in their morning and evening walks, but one caste should not enter the apartments of the others—that for the first twelve months after its establishment there were in the native hospital 115 house and 101 dispensary patients; and in 1837, without any increase of accommodation, there were 956 house, and 75,680 dispensary patients—that an hospital containing 250 beds ought, in Mr. O'Brien's opinion, to be filled in twelve months—that in Mr. Martin's opinion there are prejudices among the natives inhabiting Calcutta of both kinds, those founded upon religious opinions, and the prejudices and fears common to the ignorant and the vulgar in all countries are of great force amongst the natives, and they dislike the removal from the families; but all these are, in Mr. Martin's opinion, in general to be overcome also by kindness of manner, and the ready permission to the sick of being visited, or even attended, by their relations—that the poorer natives have not prejudices in a greater degree than Mr. Martin has seen exhibited in different parts of the British empire; and of which, in his opinion, such as do exist will readily yield here as elsewhere to judicious management.

“Your Committee are of opinion, upon what they consider as the clear result of this evidence, that a medical hospital instituted in Calcutta upon principles in which due regard should be paid to the religious opinions, prejudices, and peculiar customs of the country, would meet with few more formidable obstacles in attracting the resort of the sick poor, than an hospital would encounter in any part of Great Britain or Ireland upon the first introduction of such an establishment. It seems to your Committee to be established by the testimony of those who have had the best opportunities of forming accurate opinions of the habits and manner of the Native, that the operation of *outs* in influencing their acquiescence in the medical treatment necessary to remove the sufferings of disease, has been exaggerated, in the same manner, and to the same degree, as it has usually been in other matters—that whatever is required by

the prejudices of *caste* it is not difficult to supply—that the main difficulties which oppose themselves to the success of an hospital in Calcutta, are prejudices not peculiar to the natives of India, but which they partake with the ignorant all over the world—that prejudices of this sort have been found everywhere to yield to the influence of experience and the desire of self-preservation; and that they will probably yield with greater rapidity here than elsewhere, from the greater natural quickness of apprehension remarkable in the uneducated natives of India.”

5th.—From the overwhelming mass of evidence before them the Committee came to the unanimous opinion,—

I. “That there is the most urgent necessity for the taking effectual measures to administer relief to the sick within Calcutta and its suburbs, in a state of poverty, but not utter destitution.

II. “That dispensaries for the gratis distribution of medicines, under the advice of an apothecary and the general superintendence of a surgeon of the establishment, are attended with very beneficial effects in a large description of cases, especially when the patient is persuaded by an European master or mistress, or judicious native friend, to apply for relief in the early stage of a common disorder, and in slight and in chronic diseases; but that they by no means answer the desired purpose or in the opinion of your Committee any good purpose, in acute or dangerous diseases which have proceeded beyond the initiatory symptoms—which diseases appear to form a large proportion of those prevalent in Calcutta.

III. “That in order to the successful treatment of these diseases among the poor, an hospital, or hospitals, must be established, in which the patients can be received to sleep and to live during the progress of their cure—in a situation removed from the neighbourhood of a dense population—having well ventilated apartments raised above the lowest strata of morbid exhalation, and the noxious damps, which render their ordinary habitations the necessary and chosen abodes of disease; and secured by substantial walls and good roofs against the sun and the rain, and the sudden and violent alterations of temperature incidental to the climate—in which they may receive the daily advice of a skilful physician—and the constant attendance of a well instructed apothecary, and of assistants and nurses of competent knowledge and care—the ceaseless watching of the progress of the disease, and of the effects of the medicines taken—the benefit of strict measures to ensure the proper administering of the medicines ordered—proper attention to cleanliness and clothing—the due supply of wholesome food and regulation of diet—and a supply of such articles of sustenance, as from their mode of preparation, or rarity, or expense, cannot be procured by the poor except in an hospital, and may be necessary to recover.”

These and other kindred resolutions are followed up by the Committee with a reflection at once practical, striking, and profound:—

“Your Committee are painfully aware, that to cope with the vast mass of disease which prevails in Calcutta in its present state, in the hope of administering effectual relief by charitable means, in cases bearing any but a small proportion to the multitude which demand it, were an undertaking certainly beyond the means of private contribution, and probably beyond those which the paternal providence of the Government could command for such an object, great as that object undoubtedly is. But they cannot think, that, because all cannot be at once accomplished, which is ardently to be desired, nothing should be attempted towards accomplishing a part, where that which is to be undertaken regards the

saving of human lives. In a shipwreck, what is to be done is to save as many as there are means of saving; nor were any man's exertions to effect this ever relaxed by the consideration, that their number was small, compared to those who must be left to perish. As is well observed by Mr. Martin—"This need not discourage us; for, in countries the most civilized and wealthy, it is but a small part of the suffering that is alleviated by hospitals, or that can be so. If the more urgent and acute diseases are treated, a great deal is done to relieve suffering, and to save life."

The Committee having thus succeeded in establishing, by an immense mass of irrefragable evidence, the urgent necessity of founding a Fever Hospital, proceeded, with redoubled energy, to obtain the requisite pecuniary contributions. Nor were their efforts in this respect unsuccessful. Gradually a sum of about *fifty-five thousand* rupees accumulated on their hands. In April last, Dr. Mouat, Secretary to the Medical College and Government Council of Education, opened a correspondence on the subject with Sir J. P. Grant, President of the Fever Hospital Committee. Baboo Muttylohl Seal, with a munificence that does him credit, offered "a piece of ground in the immediate vicinity of the Medical College, for the purpose of aiding to form the site of a Fever Hospital." The professors attached to the Medical College "volunteered to perform gratuitously the duty of affording aid to the sick of the proposed Hospital, which will become a part of the regular duties of those officers, and of their successors in the College." The Government also undertook to "provide, at the public charge, such establishment and medicines as may be necessary for the Institution." Under these favourable circumstances the old Fever Hospital Committee very handsomely resolved that the entire sum at their disposal, together with such further sums as may be collected of the subscriptions not yet paid in, should be appropriated to the erection of a Fever Hospital on the ground which had been presented for that purpose, in immediate connection with the Medical College.

Every obstacle being thus removed, and unusual facilities and advantages offered, why should a work of so truly philanthropic a character—a work of such demonstrable utility—be delayed for a single day? The answer is a simple but decisive one—the *want of sufficient pecuniary means*! The funds on hand are declared to be "not only utterly inadequate to provide a building of the nature and extent required, which it is estimated cannot cost less than a *lac of rupees*, but a further sum of nearly *forty thousand* rupees will be necessary to purchase the *additional* ground essential for free ventilation." Here, then, is a claimant case, vehemently craving for the liberalities of the charitable of all classes and castes of men—without respect to clime, or religion, or colour. Let no one fling aside his own share of the responsibility, by alleging that others, more able than himself, *might* do more than they have done. Baboo Muttylohl Seal has done much; but such a man, with his fifty lacs of rupees, might do more! Government has undertaken much; but such a Government, with its ample revenues, *might* do more! True; very true, all this! But, ought



their not doing more than they have done, to excuse others for *not doing anything at all*? This, both in mental and moral logic, were a strange and ruinous paralogism. *The inadequate performances* of any parties, in the great sphere of duty or benevolence, never did, never can constitute a valid defence for the *total non-performance* of another. Rather, their doing something—no matter how incommensurate so ever—ought to administer a rebuke for his doing nothing. The great point, therefore, in this and all similar cases, is, for every one to consider, not what this one or that one has done, but what, in the circumstances, it is *his own* duty to do.

Let every one resolve to be acquitted at the bar of his own conscience. Let him so act, in the presence of the omniscient God, as to be enabled with integrity of heart, in reviewing all the circumstances of every call or claim of duty, to exclaim, “I have done what I could.” If all the inhabitants of Calcutta were to act on this sound and righteous principle, for a *single hour* to-day, funds, vastly more than adequate for the erection of the proposed Fever Hospital, would be forthcoming on the morrow—one of the noblest and most useful institutions would be rearing its stately head amid the native dwellings of this metropolis within a twelvemonth—within it, as a temple and sanctuary of health, would thousands of the poor, the needy, and the helpless, find relief from excruciating pains and agonies—and from it, would thousands more go forth in the bloom and freshness of renovated strength, who otherwise would inevitably have been consigned to a premature grave.

It was our intention, had not this notice already extended further than was originally designed, to refer, in terms of strongest condemnation, to the utterly disgraceful state of the drainage, sewerage, and waterage, in the native parts of the city. In our opinion, these are the chief, the ever-active, the perennial sources of a large proportion of all the fevers and other malignant maladies that afflict and decimate the native population. The thorough rectification of these unceasing generators and feeders of pestilence would do more towards the mitigation and removal of disease than would the erection of as many fever hospitals as there are private dwellings.

*Narrative of a Mission to India and the Countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, &c. &c. By M. Fontanier, Vice-Consul of France at Bassorah. London, 1844.*

THIS is the first volume of a work, which will, we anticipate, on its completion, form a most valuable addition to the now fast increasing store of good books relating to India and the East. It is the work of a foreigner, and, as such, of double value; for it is good for us sometimes to see the things which most concern us, through other media than those of our own prejudices or predilections. M. Fontanier is an

intelligent French gentleman, of good education and high character, who has held for some time an official position in the Persian Gulf. He has seen much of Western Asia; has fallen in and discoursed with many of the foremost men in recent Indian History; and has marked, with the eye of a keen observer, the national characteristics of the people among whom he has dwelt. His writings are distinguished by an amount of good sense, moderation, and freedom from prejudice, which cannot fail to engage the favourable consideration of the reader; and though we may dissent from some of his conclusions, we recognise, even in his errors, a degree of candour and sincerity which entitle them to our respect. There is in M. Fontanier's work none of that egregious national and personal vanity, which have rendered the writings of many French travellers, with all their cleverness, so exceedingly offensive—none of the indelicate soporific of an Arago or the nauseous self-conceit of a Jacquemont. Regarding this latter personage, M. Fontanier acknowledges that he found the odium attaching to the character of the French naturalist a stumbling-block in his own path, which, for some time, it was not a little difficult to surmount. It may not be uninteresting to show what our author has said on the subject—

“It seems to me that though there are more English in France than in India enjoying a protection and freedom there with which they appear to be satisfied, they do not scruple to attack its government and its institutions, and turn into ridicule its inhabitants and their usages. They are not blamed on this account by their countrymen: why then should they be indignant against Jacquemont, who certainly did not go the lengths they do? If he has indulged in exaggeration and presumption, and not adhered too closely to truth, yet he has espoused the sentiments and the prejudices of his hosts, and by his abilities has rendered them popular in France. Far from having injured the interests of those who received him, he served them better than many of their most distinguished statesmen. His letters have given currency to an idea, respecting the power of Great Britain in India, which many persons consider exaggerated. This certainly should have excused certain sins against propriety. But besides the fact that in such cases English society is little inclined towards indulgence, Jacquemont's book became an instrument of party spirit. Lord William Bentinck was a decided Whig; and the principal organ of the Tories, the *Quarterly Review*, in order to attack him, seized upon certain passages in which the traveller had, it must be confessed, spoken very lightly of Lady Bentinck.

“Lord William was not popular in India. Although people are too much occupied there with matters of utility to trouble themselves much about the questions which nourish party spirit in Europe, nevertheless, the majority of the inhabitants being Tories, certain innovations introduced by the Governor-General appeared to them premature. Too much attention was paid to his lordship and Jacquemont's conduct, which all blamed, I think, more than was deserved. These feelings have not diminished, and many Frenchmen have told me long afterwards, that they did not meet with the reception in India which they anticipated, from the fear entertained in certain families that, by admitting them on a footing of intimacy, they might incur the same annoyance which befell Lord Bentinck. It was asserted that her ladyship, pestered by the joke to which she gave rise in London, preferred expatriation and went to Paris, where she died; the mere mention of Jacquemont's name, it is said, caused the Governor-General the most poignant displeasure. Had I been an ordinary traveller, I should probably have been less attentive to these incidents; but I was

going to reside, so to speak, on the Indian frontiers; and it was requisite that I should inspire confidence amongst the inhabitants of the only civilized country with which I should be in communication. It was not without regret, therefore, that I discovered the existence of an unfortunate prejudice against the French which I could not easily destroy. The facility of expressing myself, and that feeling of confidence which gives free scope to the mind failed me, and without these the choicest company loses its charm."

The accuracy of much of this is questionable. The article in the *Quarterly Review* bears no appearance of a covert attack on Lord William Bentinck, but is a direct and well-merited castigation of the impertinences of the French traveller; and no one, who knew Lady William Bentinck, will believe for a moment that these impertinences could ever have occasioned her the intense chagrin of which M. Fontanier speaks. Her ladyship was not a person whom her associates would be likely to pester with jokes, nor are well bred people in England prone to pester noble ladies with jokes so distasteful as to drive them into exile. Lord William Bentinck, we may venture to affirm, cordially despised M. Jacquemont, whilst Lady William pitied and forgave him; but, though his lordship was not popular in India, M. Jacquemont's name stinks in the nostrils of Indian society, as one inseparably associated with ideas of the most offensive vulgarity and ridiculous self-conceit. Judging by M. Fontanier's book, our present author is likely to remove much of this very strong impression against French travellers in India, and if he succeeds altogether, we can assure him that he will have achieved no inconsiderable triumph.

The next passage, which we have marked in M. Fontanier's work, relates to the late Sir Alexander Burnes and Mr. Wolff. It will be read at the present time with no little interest:—

"The ships which we found at anchor were chiefly laden with pilgrims, but those whose sole object was trade soon made their appearance also. The *Hugh Lindsay* was the first to arrive, and was then the only steamer belonging to the East India Company; she was making her experimental trip in order to establish, *via* Suez, regular communications between Bombay and England. She brought despatches from Europe, and put into Jeddah for a supply of coals, having on board a no less remarkable person than Sir Alexander Burnes, whose end was afterwards so deplorable. He had been sent to India with dispatches, and had just published the narrative of his overland journey to Europe. I do not wish to enter into the merits of that publication, but it must be confessed that the interest that was then attached to those countries, through which Sir Alexander passed, in consequence of the projects attributed both to Russia and England, exaggerated the value and the difficulties of his undertaking. Indeed, some years previously, an Italian named Ventura, and a French captain, M. Allard, had, at the suggestion of M. Mazarowitch, the Russian minister at the court of Persia, journeyed by the same route. And at a later period, M. Court, a lieutenant of the old Imperial Guard, who was far superior in education and information to his predecessors, had also followed the same track; others succeeded them, even Mr. Wolff, the German missionary, undertook the journey from Persia to India accompanied by far greater dangers. I am not aware that M. Court took notes of his journey; but, if he did, it is probable that his facts are of more value than those of Sir Alexander Burnes. Independent of his being an excellent geographer and draughtsman, he speaks Persian, not like most Euro-

"Mr. Wolff was extremely absent, and remarkable for simplicity; talking himself, getting up and making speeches all day long, and even the greater part of the night! passing indeed for an irrational being. Mahum Youssoof never could make out what he was talking about. One day, about the dinner hour, his guest sallied forth towards the gate of Mecca with a Bible under his arm; Youssoof sent his sister after him to say dinner was waiting, and he immediately returned. It appears that nothing extraordinary had occurred, for no person paid the least attention to him; at all events, if he had spoken or gesticulated, no one had noticed it. When I stated that he had preached, Mahum Youssoof replied: 'That is very probable; he could do so at his leisure and without danger, for no person could understand what he had to say.' This explanation of a fact affirmed by so sincere a man as Dr. Wolff, and which every one knows could not have occurred, appears to me at least natural. I have met that missionary, and know the strange delusion into which he has fallen, as to his oratorical faculties. His French wearied me so at Trebizond, that I addressed him in Italian: the British Consul spoke French with him. I could not comprehend a word he said in Persian, and others were not more fortunate; neither did he understand Turkish; yet prided himself on speaking with fluency all these languages and many others besides. His countrymen assured me too that his German pronunciation was very disagreeable: in a word, no preacher could be less adapted for polyglot eloquence than he, although he flattered himself to the contrary.

"Fond of adventure and travelling, imagining himself a prophet, he had perambulated the world, preaching the Scripture everywhere, and, as he conceived, without any one mistaking his errand. He was besides very ignorant and a very bad theologian; the Abbé de Couperie had put him out of countenance several times at Bagdad, where he had been unable to support the most ordinary doctrines of the Protestant Church. When Sir Alexander Burnes met him at

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